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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1924–1926

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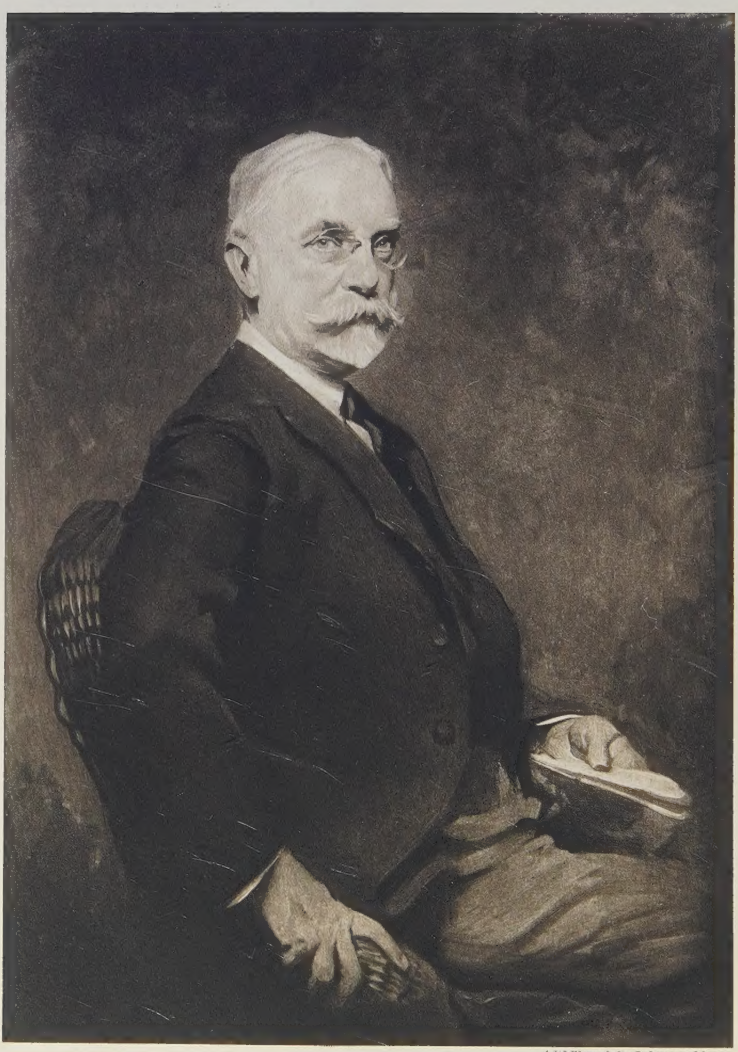

A. W. Elson & Co. Belmont, Mass.

Arthur Lord

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a painting by Herman Hänatscheck
at the Massachusetts Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXVI

TRANSACTIONS

1924–1926

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1927

The University Press:
John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, U.S.A.

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PREFACE

VOLUME XXVI, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at sixteen meetings, from March, 1924, to December, 1926, both included, in continuation of Volume XXV. Pages 1 to 134, inclusive, have been edited by Mr. Albert Matthews, who was until January 1, 1925, Editor of the Society's Publications. The rest of the volume has been edited by the present Editor of Publications.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to many friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, especially: the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Mr. William B. Goodwin, Mr. Chester N. Greenough, Mr. Francis R. Hart, Mr. William G. Mather, Mr. Harold Murdock, Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Librarian of the New York Historical Society, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Harvard College Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Public Record Office, London.

For the Committee of Publication,

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON,

Chairman.

BOSTON, May 25, 1927.

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Arthur Lord, LL.D.	April	10, 1925
Augustus George Bullock, A.B.	June	22, 1926
Henry Goddard Pickering, A.M.	July	16, 1926
Charles Sprague Sargent, LL.D.	March	22, 1927

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Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, Esq.	April	16, 1926
Frank Warren Hackett, A.M.	August	10, 1926
William Jewett Tucker, LL.D.	September	29, 1926
Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.	January	30, 1927
James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.	May	11, 1927

Associate

Hugh Edward Egerton, A.M.	May	21, 1927

TRANSACTIONS

1924–1926

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

MARCH MEETING, 1924

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, March 27, 1924, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Alfred Marston Tozzer of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member; and Mr. Kenneth Charles Morton Sills of Brunswick, Maine, and Mr. William Davis Patterson of Wiscasset, Maine, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. William C. Lane read the following paper:.

THE PRINTER OF THE HARVARD THESES OF 1771

On searching in the Boston papers of the time for notices of an episode of the Harvard Commencement of 1771, my attention was drawn to the fact that the sheet of Commencement Theses that year was printed for the first time by Isaiah Thomas instead of by Richard Draper, who had been the printer for several years previous. On looking back through the file of Commencement Theses in the Harvard Library I find that the names of Richard and Samuel Draper first appeared on the Theses and Quaestiones of 1763, no printer's name having been given in earlier years. The same printers are re-

sponsible for these sheets from 1764 to 1766. Richard Draper's name alone is found on the Theses from 1767 to 1770, in which last year he styles himself "Academiae Typographus." Richard Draper had succeeded his father, John Draper, as printer of the Boston News Letter in December, 1762, and was appointed "Printer to the Governor and Council" of the province in succession to his father at about the same time. In April, 1763, apparently in consequence of a special order passed by the Council giving him exclusive right to official news, he changed the title of his paper from "The Boston News-Letter, and the New-England Chronicle" to "The Massachusetts Gazette, And Boston News-Letter." [1]

Draper, as printer to the Governor and also, as he styles himself, to the College, was highly displeased to have the printing of the Theses taken away from him, and a bitter controversy resulted. This it may be worth while to follow, as several points in connection with the publication of the Theses appear which may not be generally known.

In the News Letter of July 11, 1771, we find the following paragraph:

> We hear there are 62 [2] young Gentlemen to commence Bachellors of Arts next Week at Harvard-College: It is said they have thought proper to take the Employ of printing the THESES from this Office, which has served every Class since their first being printed, and bestowed their Favor on the Printers of the News Paper called the Massachusetts SPY.
>
> The Gentlemen who are to commence Masters of Arts we hear have agreed that their QUESTIONS should be printed as customary.[3]

[1] See our Publications, ix. 478.

[2] The Quinquennial Catalogue gives 63 names. The member of the Class who did not graduate in 1771 was Amos Windship. As a matter of fact he never received the degree of A.B., but in 1790 was given the degrees of A.M. and M.D.: see our Publications, xxv. 144, 162 note 2.

[3] P. 2/2. Draper continued to print the sheets of Quaestiones in 1772 and 1773, but the Theses of these years were printed by Thomas and John Fleet. In 1774 and 1775 no Commencement sheets were issued. In 1776 Powars and Willis were the printers, but the Fleets were again employed to print these sheets from 1777 to 1785.

The question of how many days before Commencement the programmes were printed is of some interest. In 1771 Commencement came on July 17. A writer (p. 13, below) says that a Class committee was chosen "about a fortnight before Commencement," — i. e. about July 3. A rumor that a new printer had

From this it appears that the Theses were printed for the Senior Class and by their direction rather than by the College itself.[1]

The News Letter of the next week, July 18 (page 2/2), contained the following verses, which are worth reprinting as an indication of the political temper of the time though lacking any literary merit:

Mr. DRAPER, *The following was wrote* Extempore, *by a young Gentleman, on reading a Paragraph in your last Gazette, which is at your Service to insert at Pleasure.*

From a constant Reader, and Admirer of, your Weekly Productions.

To the Young Gentlemen, Candidates for their First Degrees at CAMBRIDGE.

AND is it true, ye Sons of Fame,
Are *Draper*'s Types thrown by? —
Reproach, Dishonour, Scandal, Shame,
Attend the dirty *Spy!*

How can ye patronize a Press,
The Engine of all Ill,
The God of Discord who caress,
The World with Slander fill?

Mark how the frowning Brow reproves
This Deed of *Harvard*'s Sons! —
Faction first vulgar Spirits moves,
Then round the World it runs.

But ah, alas! that learned Youth,
Should ever catch the Flame,
Disgraces Learning, Virtue, Truth,
And crops their rising Flame!

O ALMA MATER! Happy Seat!
Where *Truth* and *Learning* shine,
May LOYAL FIRMNESS *these* compleat,
And in your Breasts combine. *July* 15.

---

been selected reached Draper by July 11, but clearly the programme had not then been printed. Cf. our Publications, xviii. 328 note.

[1] Doubtless the custom was of long standing. In 1702 Cotton Mather, in his account of the College says, "At the *Commencement*, it has been the Annual Custom for the *Batchelors* to publish a Sheet of *Theses*, . . . and those *Theses*

The Massachusetts Spy, the most radical and lively of the five papers then being published in Boston, had been established by Isaiah Thomas July 17, 1770, at first in partnership with Zechariah Fowle, Thomas's former employer, but from October 30 of that year had been managed by Thomas alone, first as a quarto sheet up to February 1, 1771, and then, after a short suspension, as a folio paper issued weekly, beginning March 7, 1771. Draper's paper was the conservative government organ, Thomas's gave expression to the strong anti-British feeling which was developing in the colony. In the Spy of July 25, 1771 (page 3/2), the following communication appears:

To the Printer of the MASSACHUSETTS SPY

SIR,

By inserting the following you will oblige a constant Reader.

Scribere jussit Necessitas.

I AM exceeding uneasy to hear the young Gentlemen who were lately admitted to the honours of the College, so scandalously calumniated with respect to their *Theses* being printed by a *man* whom the majority of the Class thought suitable to accomplish their views upon the most reasonable terms. It is very certain the Class had an indefeasible RIGHT to expend their own money as they pleased, and of consequence to print it where they thought proper, let *mr. Draper* insist and persist ever so much to the contrary, pray *sir*, are you gifted in ability, or impowered by the authority above others, that you should be the only person capable of performing it acceptably? So much the reverse, I apprehend any Typographer in the town has an equal ability and power to your *lordship*, if not superior: It is almost universally asserted that you have been an exorbitant wretch ever since you first undertook its publication. And forsooth was not contented (as it is credibly re-

---

they *dedicate* as handsomely as they can, to the Persons of Quality, but especially the *Governour* of the Province, whose *Patronage* the Colledge would be recommended unto. The *Masters* do, in an half sheet, without any *Dedication*, publish only the *Quæstiones pro Modulo discutiendæ*," etc. (Magnalia, bk. iv. ch. i., § 7, p. 131).

An earlier glimpse of the same custom is seen in an entry in the diary of William Adams (H. C. 1671). Under date of August 2, 1671 he notes, "Was printed our theses for y^{e} commencement" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, I. 13). He would hardly have mentioned the fact unless he and his classmates had had a hand in the affair.

ported) with calumniating the Class, but by artful insinuations and audacious assertions, endeavoured to alienate the affections of his Excellency from them, urging that it was entirely through malicious political opposition to his Excellency. — O man! beware, and adhere to this brief, though important advice — Be cautious of detraction, lest the vindication of your personal character should be demanded, which appears to be spotted like the Leopard's skin, — love your brother — be not litigious. — If this momentous, tender, and affectionate warning is observed *strictly*, it will indubitably have a glorious tendency to elevate your mind above those groveling, ungentleman-like actions, which are but too apparent through the general tenour of your conduct.

— "IMMANIA MONSTRA"
"non PERFERIMUS."

The case for the students was further advocated in the Boston Gazette, a paper published by Edes and Gill and sympathetic with the same party. In the issue of July 29, 1771 (page 2/1), we find the following communication:

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

IT *is always customary with* Those *who commence Batchellors of Arts at Harvard-College, to chuse their own Printer. The Senior Class have this Year given the Preference to Mr. Thomas; this free Act and Liberty of their own, has been the Cause of high Displeasure to that grand slavish* Conformist *to ministerial Instructions, which have had such Influence over his haughty arbitrary Mind, as moved him to demand of the Reverend President and Tutors of Harvard College the Reasons why the Senior Class* dar'd to act so consistent with their own Free-Will and Pleasure, as to prefer the Printer of an infamous Paper *in this Instance of their Favor. From the above, we may plainly see the malicious Pleasure which ministerial hypocritical Slaves take in destroying the Liberty of others, inferior in Dignity to themselves; and the Readiness of a crowded Group of foolish Flatterers, with vain and puerile Compliments, to* address *a sworn Enemy to the Rights, Privileges and Liberties of this Country. His Actions speak louder than Words, and plainly prove the Hypocrisy of his Heart, and the Baseness of his Intentions. It is earnestly recommended to all the succeeding Classes, to follow this Example, and act their own Liberty of Conscience, without Fear, Favor or Affection to Placemen, Pensioners, or any of their meanest Underlings; and treat with the greatest Indignity and Contempt, all such Advice as is founded on the malicious Principle of a haughty Advocate for Prerogative.* X.

In the News Letter of August 1, 1771 (page 2/2), Draper returns to the charge and defends his position:

RECollecting this Morning, that in last Week's Spy the Publishers attempted to slur my Character, and misrepresent Facts, I imagined the Public would indulge me in a few Words to vindicate myself, notwithstanding I signified sometime since, no Notice would be taken of their Scurrility. — That the Class, some of them, were for having their Theses printed by a Man whom they thought suitable to accomplish their Views *upon the most reasonable Terms, I do not doubt. — I never denied the Right the Class had to expend their own Money as they pleased, and to print their Theses where they tho't proper: The Committee will do me the Justice to acknowledge that I disclaimed any such Right. The most that ever I pretended to was a Preference to the lowest of the Business, for I found no Application had been made to any of the established Printers in Town. — As to the extravagant Price, be it known, that for printing* 3000 *Sheets the Price I asked was but* 13 *s.* 4 *d. in the whole, or* 4 *Coppers more for each Scholar, than what Thomas asked: For this I am called an* exorbitant Wretch! *Can it be thought that the young Gentlemen were influenced by so small a Saving to have their Work done by the Publishers of the Spy! Or rather, is there not Grounds for Suspicion that it was from political Views? — As to the Charge of my representing it as such to his Excellency, it is false, I neither made Application to his Excellency nor to any of the Governors of the College relating to the Affair; and what Opinion any had of their Conduct, I am not accountable for. — A Threat, miscalled Advice, closes, "Be cautious, &c. lest the Vindication of your personal Character should be demanded, &c."* A DEMAND *of any sort from such Incendiaries a few Months ago, I should have tho't a* momentous *Affair: But thank Heaven those Times are over! — As for being spotted like a Leopard's Skin, if that was really the Case, what Service would it be to the Public to discover them? This gives me no Uneasiness, as the Place of my Nativity and Residence is sufficient to vindicate my Character. — All that I request of the Spy-mongers, is, that when they characterize, they would not take their Draft from either the Squire from Abbington, the Doctor from ——, or their Man Thomas, and palm it upon their Readers for*

R. DRAPER'S.[1]

From this statement we learn that three thousand was evidently the usual number of copies printed, a surprising fact when we con-

[1] Underneath Draper's communication is the following: "[*Just as the above was finished, a Letter came to Hand from Cambridge, upon this Affair, but shall not take up any more Room this Week, perhaps it may be in one Corner of our next.*]"

sider the great rarity of these broadsides at the present time. Three thousand sheets would apparently give each graduate about fifty copies to distribute to his friends; and paper being somewhat scarce at this time, we must perhaps conclude that the sheets were more valued as wrapping paper or as material for making up note-books or for correspondence than on account of their printed contents.

The three persons referred to in the last sentence, the Squire from Abington, the Doctor from ——, and their Man Thomas, are Joseph Greenleaf, an uncompromising opponent of Governor Hutchinson and of the government, who wrote for the Spy under the name of Mucius Scaevola, Dr. Thomas Young,[1] and Isaiah Thomas.

The News Letter of August 8 (page 4/1) inserted in its columns the article printed above from the Spy of July 25 as a "specimen of the attacks on private characters by the writers in the Spy." This is followed in the same number (page 4/1) by a communication addressed to Mr. Draper dated Cambridge, July 31, 1771:

CAMBRIDGE, July 31. 1771.

Mr. DRAPER,

IN the same Page of the dirty Spy, *I observe you have the Honor of being calumniated with the first and greatest Character in the Province; the Implication is extreme favourable: I almost envy you your Persecutors: Such Creatures are far from being formidable; they have a Profusion of Malice indeed, but like a Sword in the Hands of an Idiot, they wound themselves with the Point, while they aim a Blow at their Adversary with the Pummel. What a wretched Triumvirate! a poor shiftless erratic Knight from Abington, a dunghill-bred Journeyman Typographer, and a stupid phrensical Mountebank, — but* scribere jussit Necessitas, —*Hunger-bitten by Jupiter! Be assured Mr. D. their Wit will never wound you; but keep clear of the Teeth of such Gentry.*

It is most certainly true, that the Class lately graduated, had an incontestable Right to expend their Money as they pleased; but when they or any other Employers think proper to desert a faithful Servant, without any assignable Reason, it then becomes Matter of general Curiosity; and if

[1] For a memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, see our Publications, xi. 2–54. Mr. Anderson tells me that Dr. Young attended Richard Draper's nephew, Samuel Draper, who died March 21, 1767 (our Publications, ix. 438 note 2), in his last illness, that Richard Draper was dissatisfied with Dr. Young's treatment of the case, and that a bitter feud ever after existed between Richard Draper and Dr. Young.

Caprice, Meanness, or an equally despicable Party-Zeal appear to have had any Influence in their Conduct, they become so far reprehensible.

Let the celebrated Triumvirate swagger and bluster as they will, I never knew that Mr. D. ever presumed on any Powers, or claimed any abilities superior to his Brother Types,[1] *but I apprehend he may (consistent with the greatest Modesty) avail himself of such a plea as this; that as he was educated in the Business from Infancy, 'tis at least supposeable, that he is possessed of Typographical Abilities equal to the Squire of Abington, or any of the Triumvirate, not excepting their Journeyman Thomas; and if we may judge from their Weekly Publications, he is vastly their superior in Judgment, for he has never nauseated the public Palate with such execrable Trash as is constantly leaking from their Sink of Ribaldry.*

Another groundless Allegation against Mr. D. is, that of Exorbitance in his Demands: It appears that upon the first Application to Mr. D. his Demand for the Jobb was nominally superior to that of the Spy-mongers in the extraordinary Sum of Five Pounds old Tenor, and the Triumvirate may very probably have struck at that trifling Abatement, for the mean Purpose of pyrating the Jobb out of his Hands.

But this anonymous I *professes great and exceeding Uneasiness for the doleful Condition of the poor young Gentlemen, who were lately admitted to the Honors of the College, in that they are calumniated and scandalously too; for what? for having their Theses printed by a* Man (*Query, was the Squire the Printer?*) *who was tho't suitable for their Purpose. — It would be absurd Messieurs* IMMANIA MONSTRA *to scandalize or calumniate any Man or Body of Men for employing suitable Persons to execute any Piece of Work: The whole Scandal or Calumny then according to this Author amounts to the bare Relation of the Fact, viz. that the Authors of the Spy were employed by the Class that graduated in* 1771 *to print their Theses, contrary to the invariable Usage of the College, who had employed Mr. Draper and his Predecessors as their Printer* ab Origine: *If this was a proper Preference, where lies the Scandal, where can be the Calumny? That the Class did not consult their own Honour in this particular is too apparent; much less did they pay any attention to the Inclinations of his Excellency; tho' the conduct of* the Managers *in this Matter did not indicate the greatest Maturity of Judgment; yet surely the young Gentlemen could not be so*

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[1] Neither "type" (as here used) nor "typo" (in the same sense) is recognized in the Oxford English Dictionary. The Century Dictionary recognizes "typo," though with no examples, but not "type." In his American Glossary (ii. 913), R. H. Thornton, though citing examples of "typo" dated 1816 and 1902, does not recognize "type." Both words were in more or less common use in this country before 1800.

egregiously mistaken as to suppose, when they abandoned an old Servant of the College, who is likewise his Excellency's Printer, they were doing an acceptable Act to his Excellency; or when they thought proper to employ the Printers of the Spy, who from the first day of the Publication of that detestable Paper, like staunch Murderers, steady to their Purpose, have incessantly raved, villified and abused the most immaculate Character, as well as the most respectable Person in the Province; They could not surely conjecture that such Creatures as these were Objects of his Excellency's Predilection, or that they could conciliate his Excellency's Esteem by employing them.

As to personal *Characters, I will not injure Mr. D. by a Comparison, the Authors of the Spy must know their weak side too well to venture their Bread on so slender a Stake: Therefore I shall address them with the following Couplet of Lord* Littleton, *and conclude,*

Lie on, while my Revenge shall be,
To speak the very Truth of Thee.

In the Spy of the same date, August 8 (page 3/2), Thomas printed a neat and brief note addressed to his opponent which is worth quoting:

To Mr. Richard Draper.

Recollecting Sir!

IF your customers are satisfied to maintain a weekly news-paper, sacred to the ebulitions of your envy and private resentment, I have nothing to say in the affair. But though I might perfectly equal you in *random* invective, I have not the ambition to conceit my performances would add any thing considerable to the entertainment of my generous encouragers; whom I wish to divert in a much more agreeable manner, than by any thing which can arise from the uninteresting squabbles of Mr. R. Draper, and

I. THOMAS.

Another letter in the same issue (page 3/3), in denunciation of Draper, is signed "Musacolis."

In the Spy of August 15 (page 3/3) a new writer, A. B., apparently a member of the Class of 1771, comes to the defence of Thomas in behalf of his classmates:

To Mr. R. Draper.

THOUGH considered as a meer mechanic in the art of setting and blacking types, you are below the notice of a freshman, or even a school boy; the pother kept up about you in your own paper, as a very important person, no less a character than his Excellency's Printer, will

excuse a youth who has borne some share of your smutting to address the Governor's printer upon the delicate piece you received from Cambridge, wherein the complaint of the Bachelors of 1771, is with amazing dexterity fathered on gentlemen, whom you would have the world believe your foul-mouthed impertinence has rendered inconsiderable. But in the first place, Sir, suffer me to assure the public, that neither Joseph Greenleaf, Esq; Doctor Thomas Young, nor Mr. Isaiah Thomas, have had any thing more to do in the composition of the paper in question, than Mr. Wilkes or Parson Yorick. And further, that all the wonderful cunning of yourself and your assistants will fall short of appeasing the class for the impudent, unmannerly and insolent abuse you have lavished upon them, and still continue, in as plain terms as you dare. But should you proceed in the manner you have gone on, since you sold yourself to work wickedness for the most abandoned villains in the universe, determined enemies to learning as well as liberty, which every man above the rank of idiot in understanding, knows must stand or fall together, you and probably your patrons will be "hunger-bitten by Jupiter!" for if a Jupiter, or any just and potent being governs the affairs of men, such hypocrites, robbers and public enemies to the happiness and security of his creatures *must* be objects of his vengeance. It is not with *wit*, Mr. Draper, you are to be attacked, nor will the *teeth* of your opponents, as yet, fix upon so vile a morsel.

It is most certainly true, your writer observes, "that the Class lately graduated had an incontestable right to expend their money as they pleased; but when they or any other employers think proper to desert a faithful servant without any assignable reason, it then becomes matter of general curiosity; and if caprice, meanness, or an equally despicable party-zeal appear to have had any influence in their conduct, they become so far reprehensible."

To this nucleus of the whole essay, I would thus answer. The Class in question never received any services from Mr. Draper which they esteemed more *faithfully* performed than the like services of transmitting news, speculations, &c. were by Mr. Thomas. Indeed the preference alledged to be given to Thomas, seems to determine the agreeableness of the service at least in his favour. And *that* I should think *reason* sufficient for any freeman to *assign* for the exercise of an *incontestable right.* The affair's becoming a matter of general curiosity may affect Mr. Draper as it pleases for all the Class cares about it. Caprice and meanness are terms more easily hove at, than fixed on any of Mr. Draper's *Scourgers*; and for party-zeal, Lycurgus has told us, that in a general commotion of the state there should be *no neuters.*

Your kind stars, in combining *Triumvirates,* have certainly been uncommonly auspicious the past week. Had either the Class or the Spymongers been such officious friends to his Excellency as to pack him Bernard and Tryon,[1] it is probable the next paper would have bellowed with more than Ætna's thunders at the flagrant abuse of the most *immaculate character.*

Your great judgment in selecting entertainment I esteem as much as any man. I never wish your able correspondents a more scanty flow of sense or fine expression; his Excellency must surely be eminently gratified with the amazing abilities of his vindicators, and the zeal of his Printer. A. B.

This communication is followed by a short letter (page 3/4) from J. Greenleaf in answer to several defamatory letters in the News Letter, including that of the "anonymous author from Cambridge," begging his enemies to "take the field in open day-light," subscribe their future productions and "let mankind judge of the truth of the charges by the credibility of the accusers."

In the News Letter of August 15 (page 3/2), we find a short paragraph by Richard Draper in answer to the Spy in which he finally begs leave "to withdraw from publick view, asking pardon for having claimed their attention so long, in a frivolous disputation with persons of little or no consequence either to the Church or State;" but in the same paper in another column (page 3/1) we find an anonymous writer, speaking apparently in behalf of the class, who writes as follows:

MR. Draper, having seen the Disputes relating to the printing the Theses, I take this first Opportunity after the Vacation, on my Return, to inform you that it has been discovered, the Class were greatly taken in, in changing their Printer, for instead of a saving, as it was pretended, what with the Printer and Paper-maker together, the Price exceeded what you asked, and for which you have been scurriously treated as an exorbitant Wretch: The Public may rely on this as Fact, and any further Dispute about the Affair, to them but trifling, be prevented. *******

Cambridge, August 15.

Two days later Thomas wrote the following notice, which was printed in the Boston Gazette of August 19 (page 311):

[1] William Tryon, Governor of North Carolina.

To The PUBLIC.

WHEREAS a scandalous & malicious FALSHOOD, was inserted in Mr. Draper's Massachusett's Gazette last Thursday, viz. "*It has been discovered, the Class were* greatly TAKEN IN, *in* changing *their Printer, for instead of a saving, as it was pretended, what with the Printer and Paper-maker together, the Price exceeded what you* [Mr. Draper] *asked.*" In order to confute so bare-faced an untruth, the Subscriber would refer all those, who have the *Curiosity* to know the true state of the matter, to the Committee of the Class, who employed the Printer of the Theses; or to the Printing-Office in Union street, where an exact account of the charge of the Paper and Printing, as also of Cash received, may be seen properly attested, which *will* convince *every* Person of the Falsehood of the Charge, which otherwise may have a Tendency to injure the Reputation, and thereby distress the Family, by destroying the Business of

Boston, Aug. 17, 1771. ISAIAH THOMAS.[1]

This drew from Draper, in the News Letter of August 22 (page 3/1), a specific statement in regard to the price asked by himself and by Thomas for doing the printing:

MR. I. Thomas, in very high Terms in the Boston Gazette, having charged the Cambridge writer in our last, with publishing a "scandalous & malicious Falshood," and which perhaps was done in that Paper,[2] *that his Assertions might have the more Credit, — we are requested to publish the Facts, which are as follows:*

The Printer hereof offered to print 3000 *Theses for* £6. *and procure the best of Paper made at Milton, without any Advance on the same, at such a Rate that according to computation the Charge in the whole would amount to* £11 17*s.*

The Printers of the Spy, it is said, offered their Printing Work for £5 6*s.* 8*d. which with the additional Price of the Paper, made the Sum amount to* £12 10*s. — No doubt a Reason will be given why the Expence was more, namely, that not having Types the Theses were usually printed with, they were obliged to have Paper of a larger Size and higher Price. — But the Question is, whether the Class have not upon the whole paid more by changing their Printer, as the Cambridge Writer asserted.*

In the Spy of the same date, August 22 (page 3/1), a member of

[1] P. 3/1. It was also printed in the Spy of August 22 (p. 3/3).

[2] It seems more likely that Thomas inserted his notice in the Boston Gazette because that paper appeared three days before his own.

the Class Committee takes up the cudgels in behalf of the Class and of Thomas and gives his statement of the affair including details in regard to price:

For the Massachusetts Spy.

To Mr. R. Draper

I HAVE long remained a silent witness to your unparalleled abuse of my Classmates, and notwithstanding the share I have borne in it, I have declined so *mean* a task as to enter into a public contest with *you*, had I not been concerned for the reputation of those whose friendship I esteem. Not that they can receive any injury from *your* aspertions; but that those who are unacquainted with the matters, and have not heard them contradicted, may give you some credit, I have ventured to deliver my opinion, however, I may verify the old Roman maxim,

— Quando cum Stercore certo,
Vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor.

I shall, therefore, in the first place, give a true state of the facts, and leave the public to draw what inferences they please from them. At a meeting of the Class about a fortnight before Commencement, a large committee was chosen to act from that time till Commencement as the class; this Committee which consisted of ten, at a subsequent meeting, elected a sub-committee for the purpose of employing a Printer, to print the Theses, repeating to them the instructions which they had originally received from their constituents, viz. that they should employ the cheapest workman. Mr. Draper immediately applied for the work; being asked his price, he replied 100 l. being again asked whether that was the lowest he could afford it at, he answered yes; but rather than lose the job he would do it for 5 per cent cheaper than any other, or for nothing. The committee rejoined that they did not desire he should do it a penny *less* than he could *afford*, and if no Printer could *afford* it for less than what he had offered he should have the employ. The Committee then applied to Mr. Thomas to know his price, who immediately made a calculation, and in a few minutes told them he would undertake it for 95 l. and this being 5 l. cheaper than Mr. Draper could afford it for, the Committee saw fit to employ Mr. Thomas. The Committee afterwards ordering a paper of a better quality, as well as of a larger size, agreed to allow 98 l. 10 s.

This being the true state of the affair, I shall proceed to make a few remarks upon the pieces published by Mr. Draper, upon the occasion; beginning with his poet, who undoubtedly laboured whole nights and days to apply the word "faction" to the conduct of the Class. But how

the meer act of passing by Mr. Draper's office without employing him may be termed *faction*, I am unable to account for any other way, than by virtue of that poetical licence, which was granted only to the *great geniuses* that flourished under the republics of Greece and Rome. Perhaps your poet, Sir, intends that Greece and Rome shall not be the *only* states that can boast of *great geniuses*.

In the piece signed by yourself, you insinuate (as though it was a crime) that we did it "*from political views*," for my own part (for I can speak but for one) had that been my motive I should have gloried in the *virtue*, and I am very sensible that such a conduct would have gained me, the highest honour my wishes can aspire to, the approbation of every *good citizen*.

As your first writer from Cambridge says little more than to allow, that "the Class had an incontestable right to expend their money as they pleased;" we would advise him to leave us to the free exercise of an *incontestable right* without his impertinent molestation — but stay — he has said something more — "that the Class did not consult their own honour in this particular is too apparent; much less did they pay any attention to the inclinations of his Excellency." To pay any attention to the inclinations of *any one*, or even *our own*, when they militate with our *instructions*, his Excellency himself knows, is so far from reflecting an honour upon the agent, that it is immediately derogatory thereto, and why the Committee should give away 5 l. or 5 d. of the Class's money merely to gratify his Excellency's inclination, is a question perhaps they could not have answered.

Upon your last week's letter from Cambridge, I shall only remark, that had it been from one of the Class (every individual of whom has an undoubted right to enquire into facts) I should have endeavoured to convince him of his mistake; but since it is one who is utterly unacquainted with the matter, and seeing he has intermeddled where he had no concern, I shall take the liberty to tell him, that he has published to the world an *absolute falshood*, and unless you, Mr. Draper, can persuade your writer to demonstrate to the public, that the "class were greatly taken in," and that "what with the Printer and Papermaker together, the price exceeded what you asked," it will but aggravate the vengeance which you have already justly merited.

Upon the whole, Sir, seeing you have wantonly published whatever came to your press, without ascertaining the truth, and blazoned falshoods at large, unless you reconcile all the inconsistencies contained therein on your own behalf, I think you are chargeable for the whole; and therefore stand exposed to the public eye in the glaring character

COUNTER-STAMP

STAMP

Issued under the Act of 1765

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS
FROM ORIGINALS OWNED BY THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

of a street-bully; and I would have you remember that by your repeated insults you have probably subjected yourself to the chastisement of the Class, as you certainly have to the displeasure of

UNUS EORUM.

With this communication, the controversy apparently came to an end.

Mr. George P. Anderson exhibited a shawl woven in the Mackintosh plaid, in which red predominates and which is said to have suggested a name for the apple known as the "Mackintosh Red;" a letter written May 1, 1826, by Paschal Paoli Mackintosh, the oldest son of Ebenezer Mackintosh; a picture of David Mackintosh, also a son of Ebenezer Mackintosh; and one of the stamps issued in accordance with the Stamp Act of 1765.[1] He then read the following paper:

EBENEZER MACKINTOSH: STAMP ACT RIOTER AND PATRIOT

In a recent course of lectures on British History before the Lowell Institute in Boston, George Macaulay Trevelyan, the English historian, pointed out that when, following the Roman invasion of Britain, about twenty centuries ago, constructive public works, especially roads, were built by the Romans, their efforts stopped short when they encountered the barriers of the mountains in Wales and the mountains in Scotland. In Scotland the Highlands remain to this day an important factor in influencing the life and character of the inhabitants of that section. A certain independence, a certain native fierceness, is rightly associated with the men of the Highlands. It was so twenty centuries ago, and it is so even to-day, as is witnessed by the deeds of the "Ladies from Hell" in the Great War.

If one goes to-day into the Highlands of Scotland, into the district of Inverness-shire, there will be found thousands of representatives of the Clan Mackintosh who typify this independence, resolution, and courage. This Clan's history can be traced back definitely

[1] See p. 64 note, below.

to the twelfth century, and with more or less vagueness to a very much earlier period. To-day the Clan as of old is regularly organized and has a chief, who is Alfred Donald Mackintosh of the twenty-eighth generation from Shaw Mackintosh, the first recognized chieftain who ruled from 1163 to 1179.[1] Numerous as the Mackintosh clansmen still are in the Highlands and elsewhere in Scotland, their lines have gone out to the ends of the earth, and many indeed are the Mackintoshes in the United States.

Hardy in physique and vigorous in action, for centuries the Mackintoshes of Scotland contended with varying success with many of the neighboring clans. With the Camerons they carried on a dispute over title to certain lands which lasted three hundred and fifty years and caused much bloodshed. The Mackintosh of those days who did not fight was not a true Mackintosh. At Bannockburn in 1314 the Clan had a goodly representation in the defeat of Edward II by Robert Bruce and his followers; at the time of the contest between Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, it aided the king, and thus was on the losing side; and it was for the Jacobite cause in 1715.

Mackintoshes were among the early settlers in several of the American colonies, particularly Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Georgia. Some of the very early Mackintoshes in New England were deported but pardoned Scotch prisoners,[2] who had been taken by Oliver Cromwell at the battles of Dunbar on August 3, 1650, and of Worcester on August 3, 1651, and sent to Boston and sold as redemptioners. In a list of 272 such Scotch prisoners recorded May 14, 1652,[3] there appear the names John Mackenthow, William Mackentoss, and Daniell Mackendocke. It seems probable that the surnames of all three properly spelled would be Mackintosh. The first shipload of Scotch prisoners sent by Cromwell had arrived some time before the Rev. John Cotton, the eminent New England divine, wrote to Oliver Cromwell on July 28, 1651:

The Scots, whom God delivered into your hand at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to

[1] G. Eyre-Todd, Highland Clans of Scotland (1913), ii. 334–346.

[2] Pardoned by ordinances of Parliament, October 20, 1651 (Suffolk Deeds, i. 7).

[3] Suffolk Deeds, i. 4 ff.

make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to work for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, assoone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty.[1]

Historians have given almost no attention to the influence springing from these two shiploads of Scotch prisoners who arrived in New England in 1651 and 1652, but the descendants from these immigrants are numerous and some have been distinguished — among them Oliver Wendell Holmes, former Governor Frank Sweet Black of New York, and William Claflin, who was governor of Massachusetts from 1866 to 1869.[2]

A large number of Cromwell's Scotch prisoners were sold to the managers of extensive iron works established in Braintree, Lynn, Boston, Hammersmith (Saugus), and other places in Eastern Massachusetts.[3] This enterprise, which is said to be the first manufacturing of iron in Massachusetts, was projected in England about 1643, a company being formed under the name "The Company Undertakers of the Iron Works." It was fostered by John Winthrop, Jr., of Massachusetts. The undertaking got under way about 1644 or 1645 and operations continued until 1653, when the business failed. An appraisal of the assets in that year showed a value of £666, a large sum for that period.

In 1652, when Cromwell's prisoners arrived, the managers of the iron works were greatly in need of cheap labor and they secured a large number of the Scotchmen and sent them to the Lynn and the Braintree plants. John Mackintosh was sent to Lynn, while William Mackintosh went to Braintree. John, under the name Toish, made a deposition at Lynn, January 25, 1654, aged about twenty-

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[1] Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), i. 264–265. I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews for this helpful reference.

[2] On the authority of the Rev. Everett S. Stackpole of Bath, Maine, who has extensive manuscript material on these Scotch prisoners.

[3] S. A. Bates, Ancient Iron Works at Braintree (1898), pp. 1 ff.

four.[1] After the failure of the iron works, John Mackintosh probably was sold to some one residing in Dedham or vicinity. Both appear to have changed their surnames to Tosh or Toish when sold as redemptioners, and William retained the surname Tosh after he regained his freedom, but John went back to the original spelling.[2] On April 5, 1659, which would be after a sufficient period had elapsed to permit the removal of his disability as a redemptioner, John Mackintosh was married in Dedham to Rebecca Metcalf, daughter of Michael Metcalf. It is the career of one of John Mackintosh's descendants which interests us.[3]

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[1] Essex Antiquarian, x. 81.

[2] They went into the battle of Worcester free men, hopeful and confident. They were young, John then being only about twenty-two years old. A few hours later the army in which they fought was crushed and defeated by Cromwell and they were no longer free. Instead of suffering the fate of soldiers taken by Cromwell in Ireland, where it is said that he put to the sword several hundred thousand of his prisoners, the Scotch soldiers were sold into servitude and sent to America. As soon as they arrived in Boston and were disposed of, probably out of family pride they adopted the surname Tosh, the last syllable of their clan name.

Whether the name Tosh was selected by accident or by design and instinctively because of the fact that it was nearly a restoration of the ancient Gaelic name of the family, "Toisech," can only be conjectured. I am indebted to President Robinson for the suggestion that possibly the prisoners, wittingly or unwittingly, had gone back to the Gaelic root for their substitute surname. The Gaelic form of Mackintosh is "Mac-an-Toisich," the son of the leader, or Thane's son. "Toisech," the nominative case, in Gaelic signifies leader or chieftain. The prefix "mackin" thus signifies "son of the," and "Mackintosh" therefore means "son of the leader." The spelling "Toish" adopted by John Mackintosh is even closer to "Toisech." He may have been enough of a scholar to have known about the Gaelic root. It is significant, however, that as soon as he once more was a free man he restored the surname Mackintosh.

[3] Not all the early Mackintoshes of Boston and its vicinity are descended from John Mackintosh of Dedham. Some of them who came from Bristol, Rhode Island, and who married into the Royal family, have no close connection with the Dedham family. Peter Mackintosh, the Boston blacksmith, who is sometimes confused with Ebenezer and incorrectly called the rioter, may have been a descendant of John Mackintosh of Dedham, but his relationship to Ebenezer cannot be stated. If Peter's grandfather came from Scotland, as is said to be the tradition in his branch of the family, they were related only in a most distant way, and perhaps not at all. Cf. p. 52 note 2, below.

It is a significant fact, however, that Moses Mackintosh, father of Ebenezer, had a brother named John, and a John Mackentosh was married to Jane Blair in Boston, November 11, 1731 (Boston Records, xxviii. 173), only three years before the marriage of Moses in Dorchester. If this was in fact his brother, and this John was the father of Peter Mackintosh, then Peter and Ebenezer were

Briefly stated, the second generation from John Mackintosh is represented by William (baptized November 25, 1665) and his wife Experience (Holbrook) Mackintosh.[1] The selection of William as a name is presumptive evidence of close relationship between John and the before-mentioned fellow-prisoner William. William Mackintosh of the second generation had several children, including a son named Moses, born September 1, 1708, in Dedham, who married Lydia Jones in Dorchester, August 5, 1734.[2] This Moses Mackintosh was the father of Ebenezer Mackintosh of Boston, who has come down in local history mostly under the surname Mackintosh, with the subtitle of "The Rioter," but occasionally as "Captain" Mackintosh, though he is also known as "Mackintosh the shoemaker." The given names Moses and Ebenezer show the New England influence which selected names from the Bible.[3]

Not much is known of Moses Mackintosh, father of Ebenezer.

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cousins. Cf. O. A. Roberts, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, ii. 423, where it is said, on the authority of a manuscript in the Peter Mackintosh branch of the family, that the grandfather of Peter Mackintosh, Jr. (born January 3, 1788) was named John and came from Scotland. The services of a trained genealogist will perhaps be needed to establish the relationship, if any, between Peter and Ebenezer.

On the other hand, the McIntoshes of Needham were rather close relatives of Ebenezer. Col. William McIntosh of Needham was a half-brother of Moses, the father of Ebenezer. Col. McIntosh served with credit as an officer in the French and Indian War. He had a son named Ebenezer, who thus was a cousin of Ebenezer of Boston. Col. William McIntosh spelled his surname differently from the other members of the family. He kept a tavern in Needham which was quite famous in its day, and is described by John Rowe as a convivial place. (Cf. G. K. Clarke, History of Needham, p. 43.)

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, lxvii. 24–25.

[2] Dedham Records: Births, Marriages and Deaths, p. 35; Boston Records, xxviii. 186.

[3] The surname of this patriot appears under four different spellings, and members of the family in this country have at least a half-dozen other ways of spelling it. The spelling that Ebenezer himself used was Mackintosh, but his name is usually spelled McIntosh in the Boston town records; it is McKintosh in John Rowe's Diary, and in his military records in New Hampshire; while it is McKentosh in the 1790 Census of New Hampshire. In the United States as a whole, to-day without doubt the favorite spelling is McIntosh. The name of a county in Georgia is spelled in that form, and in the Boston Directory for 1923 there are seventy-seven names spelled McIntosh and only thirteen spelled Mackintosh. There are ten people in Boston spelling it MacIntosh and five Macintosh. The rubber coat inventor spelled his name Macintosh. In whatever way the name is spelled the original source is the same Scotch Clan from Inverness-shire.

He seems either to have met with more than the usual share of misfortune, or to have been singularly improvident. His mother died when he was six years old and his father before he had reached his majority,[1] and he appears never to have made any material headway in the world. For at least a century before this period the towns of Massachusetts Bay and other colonies had followed the practice of "warning out" residents who in the opinion of the selectmen might become public charges. The purpose of warning out was not necessarily to drive the person named out of the town, although it often so resulted, but in fixing the responsibility for support of the individual and his family, if occasion arose, upon the colony rather than upon the town.[2] About 1753 Moses Mackintosh was warned out of Boston. In September, 1761, he was warned out of Wrentham. On December 7, 1770, Moses McEntosh and thirteen others were warned out of Boston. A memorandum accompanying the document says:

> November 14, 1770, Moses Mc Entosh Last from the Castel he has lived in Several towns in the Country or Provance But has been warned in his Majestys Name out of them all He says he was warned out of Boston abote 17 years ago By 2 men in Boston But he says he was born in Dedham warned in his Majestys name to Depart this town of Boston in 14 Days.[3]

It is doubtful if Mackintosh left town on this occasion, for an order committing him to the almshouse, made by the selectmen December 17th, was withdrawn.[4] This looks as if some occupation was found

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[1] On November 19, 1725, Joseph Wight of Dedham was appointed guardian of Moses Mackintosh, then seventeen years old (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 5166).

[2] "The effect of warning out as thus practised upon persons who remained in the town after being warned was to relieve the town from all obligation to aid them if they became poor and in need of help or support. They were inhabitants of the town for all purposes except being helped if they needed help. They paid taxes, they could vote, they could hold office, they could perform all the duties of citizenship and of tax-payers, and yet, if they had been warned out, they could have no help from the town. They might be taxed for the support of others who were in need, but, when they came to be in need, they were entitled to no help from the taxes of the town. They were spoken of among their neighbors as persons who had 'been warned'" (J. H. Benton, Warning Out in New England, 1911, p. 116).

[3] Records of the Supreme Judicial Court, no. 89,905.

[4] Boston Records, xxiii. 72.

for him on this occasion. The last entry which presumably refers to him is a resolve which passed February 3, 1778:

Resolved that the Commanding Officer at Castle Island be & he hereby is directed to receive Moses Mackintosh (who was formerly a Sergeant there) into the pay & service of this state at that Island, there to do duty & to receive pay & rations as other Private Soldiers of that Garrison.[1]

Moses Mackintosh was then seventy years old, and presumably able to perform only the lightest type of military service.

Moses Mackintosh may have followed some trade, but the only records available show him as a soldier. His name is found in a muster roll dated December 5, 1737, as being in the command of Spencer Phips at Castle William, where he served from May 21 to December 2.[2] Whether he continued without interruption to serve in the military force in Boston is unknown, but on November 20, 1748, he is entered as being a sergeant in the company of Spencer Phips at Castle Island, Mackintosh's service extending from May 21 to November 20.[3]

Although born and reared in Dedham, Moses Mackintosh apparently was living in Dorchester as early as 1733, and it seems probable that he was a neighbor of Ebenezer Jones who lived on Dorchester Neck, adjacent to the highway leading to the Castle, now a part of South Boston. A deed[4] given by Ebenezer Jones and his wife, Lydia, dated June 27, 1733, at Dorchester conveying about eleven and a half acres of upland and swamp land to Ichabod Jones, their son, cordwainer, permits some interesting conjectures. To this deed Moses Mackintosh is one of the subscribing witnesses, and the knowledge that a little more than a year later he married Lydia

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, xx. 272. It seems not improbable that the helping hand of Col. William McIntosh of Needham was behind the placing of Moses Mackintosh at the Castle, because in a letter dated Needham, January 31, 1778, to Caleb Crafts of Brookline, the Colonel says that the transports are soon "Expected for the purpose of Carring Burgoynes' army to Europ" (Harriet F. Woods, Historical Sketches of Brookline, p. 382), and gives directions for the detaching of 86 men to be sent to the Castle to do duty there until the troops are embarked.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, xci. 302.

[3] Id. xcii. 179.

[4] Suffolk Deeds, li. 153.

Jones, daughter of Ebenezer and his wife Lydia, makes it safe to assume that Moses Mackintosh was a close friend of the Jones family. Lydia Jones, the mother, signed the deed in her own hand, but her husband signed by making his mark.

The marriage of Moses Mackintosh to Lydia Jones took place August 5, 1734, in Dorchester.[1] They had two children, a daughter, named Lydia, who was born in Dorchester July 17, 1735, about whom nothing is known; and a son Ebenezer born in Boston June 20, 1737, the subject of this inquiry.[2] The wife seems to have had the naming of the children, for the daughter is called after herself and her mother, while the son is named Ebenezer for his grandfather Jones. Their married life apparently was full of hardship and poverty. On September 24, 1751, Lydia Mackintosh, mother of Ebenezer, died in Dorchester, perhaps having returned to her old home for an illness which proved fatal.[3] Within two years, probably about 1753 as we have seen, Moses was warned out of Boston. It seems probable that at this time Ebenezer, being then fourteen years old, remained in Boston, but his father on March 30, 1754, married Mary Everit in Dedham,[4] and presumably did not at once return to Boston as he was later warned out of Wrentham.

The knowledge that Ebenezer Mackintosh became a cordwainer or shoemaker suggests the conjecture that he became associated as an apprentice with Ichabod Jones his uncle, who it will be recalled was a cordwainer. At any rate Ebenezer learned the trade of shoemaker. Left to his own devices at the age of fourteen, his mother being dead and his father warned out of town and taking a second wife in another town, it would seem that early in life Ebenezer was compelled by circumstances to become self-reliant. Very little has been learned relative to his childhood and youth, but it is known that he could read and write and that he developed a love for poetry, being especially fond of Edward Young, some parts of whose Night Thoughts he committed to memory. Probably his attendance at school was confined to the years before his mother died. If he was

[1] Boston Records, xxviii. 186.
[2] xxi. 88, xxiv. 230.
[3] xxi. 249.
[4] Dedham Records: Births, Marriages and Deaths, p. 119.

thereafter apprenticed to his uncle, little time was permitted him for study.[1]

When Ebenezer's father moved from Dorchester some time between 1735 and 1737, he settled in the South End of Boston, and located in Ward 12, the most southern section of the town. The first definite mention of Ebenezer, besides the record of his birth in Boston, is found in "the alarm list of militia" [2] in Ward 12, dated December 7, 1754. In this list his name appears as a private. The list was made by Ephraim May, clerk. May was an innholder on Orange (Washington) Street. The limits of Ward 12 may be described in general as running from Beach Street south to the Roxbury line. The ward thus embraced that part of the town known as Boston Neck upon which the gallows was erected. The district was a community by itself and the ward when fused with the adjacent parts of Ward 11, particularly Essex Street, constituted the South End and exhibited sharp rivalry with the North End, especially on each November 5th, the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. How this rivalry manifested itself later will be considered. The South End was not so thickly populated nor so influential in town affairs as the North End, but it numbered fully as many daring patriots as lived in the North End. At a slightly later period it had its South End Caucus to match the North End Caucus.

After 1754 the next trace of Ebenezer Mackintosh is found in connection with the enlisting of troops for the expedition against

[1] The signature of Ebenezer Mackintosh which is reproduced herewith is the only one known to be in existence. The signature is in a firm hand, as if the writer

were accustomed to the use of a pen. He spells the surname as did his ancestors, although his children wrote it "McIntosh." The signature is attached as witness to a contract executed at Newbury, Vermont, September 27, 1774, a few months after he left Boston. The contract is signed by John Young and he agrees to do certain masonry on a house to be erected by Col. Thomas Johnson (1742–1819). Col. Johnson was one of the wealthiest men in that section of Vermont and the house he built is still standing. The frame was put up the day the news of the battle of Lexington and Concord reached Newbury. The original of this contract is in the Johnson Papers in the Tenney Memorial Library at Newbury. It was placed at my disposal by Frederic Palmer Wells, the historian of Newbury, Ryegate and Barnet (Vermont).

[2] Massachusetts Archives, xciii. 147a.

Canada in 1758. A broadside dated March 17, 1758,[1] announced that able-bodied and effective men who voluntarily enlisted before April 15 would receive 30 shillings, and upon passing muster would be given a good blanket and 50 shillings for furnishing themselves with clothes. The pay for a private was to be £ 1.16.0 per month. This military venture attracted Mackintosh, and on April 12, just three days before the bonus would expire, he enlisted. He was enrolled in the company of Captain Eliphalet Fales in Colonel Ebenezer Nichols's regiment. These troops were attached to the ill-starred expedition of General James Abercromby, who attacked General Montcalm at Ticonderoga July 5, 1758, but was unable to capture the fort and sustained heavy and discouraging losses.[2] Mackintosh participated in some fighting, being in that part of the army which on July 20, 1758, was waylaid and ambushed at Half Way Brook between Fort Edward and Lake George.[3] The French and Indians surprised the British on that day and more than twenty Massachusetts soldiers were slain in the skirmish. The losses were especially heavy in the company from Groton, its Captain, Thomas Lawrence, being killed. Command of that company fell to Ephraim Wesson, who in later years lived in the same town in New Hampshire to which Mackintosh retired, just before the opening of the Revolution. Mackintosh returned to Boston safe and sound on November 12, 1758, having had what must have been a disappointing army experience,[4] lasting seven months and nineteen days. The soldiers in his division of the army late in July were almost ready to desert in a body, but were held to their duty by the influence of the officers. The troops, with good reason, were dissatisfied with the management of the campaign.

Many readjustments occurred in Boston after the great and destructive fire of March 20, 1760, and one of them was a closer scrutiny of the personnel of the nine fire companies in the town. The fire showed how necessary it was that the master of an engine company should be active and capable of endurance. Solomon Kneeland of

[1] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 31.

[2] A. Holmes, Annals of America, ii. 82–83.

[3] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 22–23; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, x. 308; S. Sewall, History of Woburn, p. 551.

[4] Massachusetts Archives, xcvi. 437.

engine number nine, a leather dresser located in the South End, was sixty-two years old, and the conflagration apparently called attention to his advancing years. Furthermore, in 1759 a fire had occurred at his own house and the men from engine number eight, a rival organization, put out the fire in his home and claimed and received a bonus from the town. No doubt to Mr. Kneeland this was a humiliating incident. Accordingly soon after the big fire Kneeland resigned and Stephen Greenleaf, who had been second in command, was named in his place on June 18, 1760.[1] On the same day, Mr. Greenleaf requested that Ebenezer Mackintosh be added to the membership of engine number nine, there being fourteen men in all. The selectmen approved the appointment of Mackintosh and he began his duties as engineman, being as such exempt from military service. Engine number nine was located "near Mr. Allen's," which probably refers to James Allen who lived near what is now Park Square.

However humble the position of enginemen, or firemen as they are now called, may seem to the present generation, the position lifted Mackintosh from obscurity and gave him training and experience in meeting emergencies. Nothing is known of his personal record as a fire-fighter, but the engine to which he was attached was prompt in getting to fires, as is seen by the occasional payment of a bonus to its members for throwing the first stream of water. In view of his known daring there can be no doubt that Mackintosh did his full share of the fire-fighting.

As an engineman he was more than ever identified with the South End. A central point of that district was Deacon John Eliot's, which was at the junction of what is now Essex and Washington Streets. On that corner stood a lofty elm known as Liberty Tree. Mackintosh lived somewhere in this district, but did not own a house. At this period he may have occupied a small shop, but more probably followed the cordwainer's custom of going to the home of his patron and there making shoes for the family, usually from leather furnished by the customer.

If you go into any large New England town to-day there will be found to exist a certain rivalry and jealousy between different sections of the town. It has been so in many towns, and it was so in

[1] Boston Records, xix. 120.

Boston long years ago. For many years the rivalry between the North End and the South End of Boston had been marked and showed itself on public occasions, especially on November 5th. It is not necessary to dwell on the Pope Day celebrations,[1] but it should be remarked that in 1764 the celebration was unusually sanguinary.[2] The partizans from the rival sections of the town fought with staves and clubs for hours at the Mill Bridge in the North End and there were many broken heads. Early in the day the wheel of the wagon on which the figure of the Pope was fixed passed over the head of a five-year-old boy named Brown and he was instantly killed. Regrettable as the incident was, the fight went on, the magistrates and militia being powerless. Finally the South End won. Usually these contests ended the other way, the North End in previous years having almost uniformly been victorious.

As a result of this celebration Ebenezer Mackintosh and others whose names are unknown were arrested. The charge probably was not for causing the death of the Brown boy, but for disturbing the peace or for the destruction of property. Whatever the charge, the defendants were not tried until about three months afterwards, on February 7, 1765,[3] when they were before Justice Richard Dana and Justice William Story. Apparently the defendants were discharged, or perhaps were made to pay a light fine. Judge Dana lived in the South End and was a patriot, while Judge Story was a North End man and a tory. The court records are lacking and the facts are not known. Whatever happened, the reputation of Mackintosh with the townspeople did not seriously suffer. Thus Mackintosh passed through his first public ordeal. Had he not been prominent he would not have been arrested. Leadership of the South End gang for the next few years belonged to him. He apparently became "Captain" Mackintosh about this time, a courtesy title like unto that of "Colonel" bestowed in our own day on many a Kentuckian.

The next heard of Mackintosh is his election as one of five sealers of leather at the Boston town meeting March 12, 1765.[4] His connection with the Pope Day affair, it is thus seen, did not hurt his

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[1] Cf. our Publications, viii. 90–92, 104, xii. 288–294, xvii. 314 note, xviii. 12–14.
[2] Boston News Letter, November 8, 1764.
[3] J. Rowe, Letters and Diary, p. 76.
[4] Boston Records, xvi. 132.

standing in the town. It was the duty of a sealer of leather to pass upon the merchantability of leather, the use of unsealed leather being prohibited. The sealer had two seals, or hammers as they are sometimes called in the Boston town records, one for "all sufficiently tanned" leather and the other for "all sufficiently curried" leather. The town records of Boston show that for years there had been considerable friction in connection with the office of the sealers. Sometimes the sealers seized articles that had been made of unsealed leather and the owners sued the sealers and trouble followed. In 1762 the town passed a vote that "no tanner shoemaker, or currier shall be chose as sealers of leather."[1] This vote disqualified the very persons who were best fitted to act and the policy, which did not yield satisfactory results, was soon reversed, and in 1765 Mackintosh, who in former years would not have been eligible, was elected a sealer. He was reëlected in 1766, 1767, and 1768,[2] in each of these three years being named first on the records and presumably, therefore, chairman of the board. He worked in harmony with his colleagues because during the three years that he was chairman the other four sealers also were reëlected. Thus his administration was marked with harmony, a good sign in one who has come down in history under the stigma of being only a rioter.

One incident that occurred during his administration deserves mention. Mackintosh and the other sealers appeared before the selectmen on July 22, 1767,[3] and stated that they had been sued by Samuel Hughes,[4] a merchant, because the sealers had seized and pronounced as unmerchantable some leather that Hughes had exposed for sale and which had been consigned to him from North Carolina. Hughes claimed that this was imported leather, that it was from an outside colony and therefore not within the jurisdiction of the sealers. This incident and Hughes's attitude well illustrate the condition of the times, each colony regarding itself as substantially independent of the others. After Hughes had invoked the law against the sealers, the sealers went to the selectmen for counsel and requested that if they went on with the action and were "cast," that is, were losers,

[1] Boston Records, xvi. 70.
[2] xvi. 166, 203, 235.
[3] xx. 261.
[4] Samuel Hughes became a Loyalist at the time of the Revolution.

they be reimbursed by the town. The selectmen said that it was important to know if leather from another colony was subject to inspection and advised testing the question. Some time later the matter was adjusted by two of the selectmen, Samuel Sewall and John Rowe, who conferred with Hughes. The record says:

The Selectmen having considered the offer made by M^r^. Hughes of dropping the Action with the Sealers of Leather, for some Carolina Leather they siezed — do desire M^r^. Sewall & Rowe the Committee to treat with him, to agree with his proposal to drop the Suit, deliver him the Leather, and leave it with two Gentlemen to determine what shall be paid for damages.[1]

During these years Mackintosh was plying his trade of shoemaker, going from home to home, but there is a possibility that by this time he had opened a shoe-shop in partnership with Benjamin Bass. On the second Tuesday of July, 1765, Samuel Adams was given a verdict of £12 10s 8d damages against Ebenezer Mackintosh and Benjamin Bass, cordwainers.[2] The cause of the action is obscure. Adams was not a collector of taxes in that year or in the previous year, but the action may have originated still earlier when he was collector, as the case had been appealed from the lower court. In later years Mackintosh is referred to as a "tradesman," which gives some color to the supposition that he once had a shop in Boston. The above-mentioned action by Samuel Adams, however, may have been a personal matter and not have related to unpaid taxes. The record at least shows some coördinate trade relationship between Bass and Mackintosh.

[1] November 18, 1767, Boston Records, xx. 277.

Mackintosh received only limited financial return from the discharge of the office of sealer of leather. The fees must necessarily have constituted a relatively small part of his income. There were four sealers of leather in Boston at this period, whereas a decade or so before there had been six. The law provided that in addition to the regular fees, travel fees of three pence per mile should be paid to the sealers for distances above one mile travelled by them in the discharge of their duty. Inasmuch, however, as the extreme limits of the town of Boston were only about a mile apart, and the south part of the town was a long narrow neck of land on which no tanner or currier was likely to locate, it is doubtful if any travel fees were ever collected by the Boston sealers of leather. The law by which Mackintosh and his associates were governed, offered many opportunities for disputes between the sealers and the tanners and curriers: see "The County and Town Officer, or an Abridgment of the Laws of the Province of the Massachusets-Bay. By a Gentlemen" (Boston, 1768), pp. 72–73.

[2] Records of the Supreme Judicial Court, no. 86,536.

It is necessary now to return to the stirring events of 1765, in particular to the Stamp Act riots — the events which among historians have given Mackintosh the title of "rioter." It has been seen that whatever happened in 1765, in the following three years Mackintosh was reëlected to town office and served on a board whose sessions were harmonious and whose services presumably were efficient. Boston in April, 1765, received the news of the passage of the Stamp Act. That information found the town in a state of indignation, and as the months went by the townspeople developed an ugly mood. Mackintosh shared in the dislike of the law, but it did not directly touch his personal business. It promised, however, to bear heavily on all tradesmen and to entail hardships on the people as a whole. If the Stamp Act had been strictly enforced, the colonists in a relatively short time would have been in a state bordering on actual financial distress. There was not enough coin in Massachusetts or in any of the colonies to pay the taxes demanded if the money was to be sent to England. In this situation men harangued excitedly in the streets, the better sort of citizens debated the outlook in their clubs, and the gang, the South Enders and the North Enders, in militant spirit prepared when a chance came to reflect public opinion. The chance soon came, or rather the crowd made an opportunity to show the prevalent unrest.

On February 6, 1765, Isaac Barré had made his famous speech in Parliament which furnished the phrase "Sons of Liberty" [1] and led to the formation of the well-known pre-Revolutionary organization of that name. It was at a period when Mackintosh had become a well-known leader, and among his kind a commanding and popular figure. Somewhat later he was known as "First Captain General of Liberty Tree," [2] a title which in itself was a satirical jibe at Governor Francis Bernard, who as chief executive signed all proclamations as "Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England and

[1] See Jared Ingersoll's Letters relating to the Stamp-Act (1766), pp. 14–16.

[2] The tree was so named on September 11, 1765. The supplement to the Boston Gazette of Monday, September 16, said: "The Great Tree at the South End of the Town, upon which the Effigies of a Stamp Master was lately hung, was honour'd last Wednesday with the Name of, THE TREE OF LIBERTY; a large Plate of Copper, with that Inscription, in Letters of Gold, being fixed thereon" (p. 2/2). Cf. the Boston News Letter of September 12, p. 1/1.

Vice Admiral of the Same." This is a long title, but Mackintosh was satisfied with one half as long. Furthermore, he was in actual control of his followers, while Bernard was a craven, hesitating and fearful, not to say pusillanimous executive.

On August 12, 1765, the birthday of the Prince of Wales was observed in Boston. This event called together many of the patriots, who in discussing the political situation decided that an object lesson should be given to the people. In two days they planned and fashioned effigies of Bute and Oliver — the one hated in England, the other hated in Boston. Mackintosh as "First Captain General of Liberty Tree" had charge of the hanging of effigies on the tree and of illuminations. One of the lanterns that formerly hung on Liberty Tree is preserved and is now owned by the Bostonian Society.[1] On the morning of August 14, 1765, there hung on the tree the quickly constructed effigy of the stamp distributor, Andrew Oliver, and beside him was a boot which represented the Devil coming out of Bute. As soon as the effigies were discovered, the authorities ordered them removed, but no official had the daring to undertake their removal, and they remained undisturbed until taken down by their sponsors. With the knowledge that Mackintosh was in charge of the effigies and the knowledge that he was a shoemaker, it may be conjectured that perhaps he made the boot which stood for the detested and unpopular John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, then Prime Minister. The pun of the boot was one readily grasped

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[1] When the Sons of Liberty and the South Enders were opposed to any British official or sympathizer, their state of mind was shown by the appearance of effigies on Liberty Tree. By the same token when satisfaction or joy prevailed the same Liberty Tree reflected their change of attitude. Thus when the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received in Boston the tree was elaborately decorated with lanterns and there was general rejoicing. As Mackintosh had led in the disorders and acts of disapproval, so did he lead in the expression of satisfaction, and as First Captain General in charge of illuminations on Liberty Tree, it is reasonably safe to assume that the celebration of the repeal of the hated Stamp Act was at least partly under his direction.

The news of the repeal reached Boston May 16, and May 19 was selected as a date for general rejoicing. On that night the tree was bedecked with many lanterns — one account says 108 were hung on the boughs — and the spectacle must have been pleasing. The lantern owned by the Bostonian Society is in almost perfect condition. It is stoutly built, hexagonal in shape, and has a graded turret, with a circular fastener at the extreme top. Within are two sockets for the candles. The whole is about a foot and a half high. This lantern was given

in an era when many tavern keepers and tradesmen employed sign-boards of material articles to indicate the location of their places of business. The effigy of Oliver was prepared by Benjamin Edes, Thomas Crafts, John Smith, Stephen Cleverly, John Avery, Jr., Thomas Chase, Henry Bass, and Henry Welles.[1] Of these Edes, Bass, and Chase were later identified with the North End Caucus, so the enterprise was a popular town affair and not confined to the South End. No matter how sharp the rivalry between the North and South Ends might be on Pope Day, they were united in any cause that called for patriotism. In 1773, the North End Caucus bought a flag for Liberty Tree.[2]

After the effigies had swung in the breeze all day, they were taken down in the evening and carried in a parade through the principal

to the Bostonian Society by the estate of J. H. Hunneman in 1889. An inscription in gilt upon the bottom of the lantern shows that it was originally owned by Eleazer Johnson:

This
LANTERN
Was on the Northwest
Bough, (opposite Frog-lane), of the
LIBERTY TREE
Illuminated last night with
Several hundred Lanterns, on the
Arrival of the News of the
"Repeal of the Infamous
GEORGE GRENVILLE
Stamp Act."
Boston May 21st 1766.
Eleazer Johnson

It is probable that Eleazer Johnson, who at this time had a store at Number 9 Long Wharf, took the lantern from his own stock, as he dealt in a variety of metal articles ranging from fish-hooks to anchors, dealing also in some dry goods and in wine. The inscription on the lantern purports to have been placed there on May 21, 1766, two days after the festivities at the tree. The inscription for the most part is in script, with the words "Lantern, Liberty Tree, and George Grenville" in large ordinary type letters. Eleazer Johnson in 1798 was living on Marlboro (Washington) Street in a brick house which, with the land, was valued at $2500. His wife was Elizabeth Le Crass and they were married June 13, 1758, in Boston. It is noteworthy that he was a merchant, showing once more the activity of that class in the public demonstrations of that period. Frog Lane, it will be remembered, is the present Boylston Street.

[1] W. Gordon, History of the American Revolution, i. 175.

[2] E. H. Goss, Life of Paul Revere, ii. 643.

streets. It was on this occasion that the first of the Stamp Act riots occurred. Mackintosh is not blamed for all that occurred that night, but he was one of the principal figures in the mob. It is said that there were many gentlemen in that procession, which finally developed into a disorderly crowd. This mob, after shouting "Liberty, Property and No Stamps," swung into King Street and at last, after destroying a building which it is said was designed by Oliver to be an office for the distribution of stamps, passed on to Fort Hill, where considerable damage was done to the home of Andrew Oliver. The crowd then marched across the town to the home of Hutchinson on Garden Street in the North End, but being told by one of Hutchinson's neighbors that he was not at home, left, having caused only trivial damage. As a matter of fact Hutchinson was in the house and the crowd afterwards found this out, which was another reason why twelve days later the mob with savage gusto attacked this structure.

The events of August 14, 1765, were only a prelude to the more serious disorders of August 26. The disturbances of that night began just before dark. Some boys lighted a bonfire before the Town House and soon there was a great assembly. The phrase "Liberty and Property" was heard in the crowd, an ominous signal at that period indicating that trouble was brewing. Before long the crowd started toward the residence of Charles Paxton, where they were foiled by a tactful landlord who ordered drinks for the crowd, and assured them that Mr. Paxton with his effects had left the house. Having drunk a barrel of punch at the expense of the owner of the house where Paxton lived, the crowd moved on. It was now greatly augmented, and, after looting the houses of William Story and Benjamin Hallowell, arrived before that of Hutchinson in Garden Street. What happened there can best be told by Hutchinson himself, who on August 30 wrote as follows to Richard Jackson, the province agent in London:

I came from my house at Milton with my family the 26 in the morning after dinner it was whispered in town there would be a mob at night & that Paxtons, Hallowells, & the custom house & admiralty officers houses would be attacked but my friends assured me the rabble were satisfied with the insult I had received & that I was become rather popular. In the evening while I was at supper & my children round me

somebody ran in & said the mob were coming. I directed my children to fly to a secure place & shut up my house as I had done before intending not to quit it but my eldest daughter repented her leaving me & hastened back & protested she would not quit the house unless I did. I could not stand against this and withdrew wth her to a neighbouring house where I had been but a few minutes before the hellish crew fell upon my house with the rage of devils & in a moment with axes split down the door & entred my son being in the great entry heard them cry damn him he is upstairs we'll have him. Some ran immediately as high as the top of the house others filled the rooms below and cellars & others remained without the house to be employed there. Messages soon came one after another to the house where I was to inform me the mob were coming in pursuit of me and I was obliged to retire thro yards & gardens to a house more remote where I remained until 4 o'clock by which time one of the best finished houses in the Province had nothing remaining but the bare walls and floors. Not contented with tearing off all the wainscot & hangings & splitting the doors to pieces they beat down the Partition walls & altho that alone cost them near two hours they cut down the cupola or lanthern & they began to take the plate and boards from the roof & were prevented only by the approaching daylight from a total destruction of the building. The garden fence was laid flat & all my trees &c broke down to the ground. Such ruins were never seen in America. Besides my plate & family pictures household furniture of every kind my own my children and servants apparel they carried off about £900 sterling in money emptied the house of every thing whatsoever except a part of the kitchin furniture not leaving a single book or paper in it & have scattered or destroyed all the manuscript & other papers I had been collecting for 30 years together besides a great number of publick papers in my custody.

The evening being warm I had undressed me & slipt on a thin camlet surtout over my wastcoat, the next morning the weather being changed I had not cloaths enough in my posession to defend me from the cold & was obliged to borrow from my friends. Many articles of cloathing & good part of my plate have since been picked up in different quarters of the town but the furniture in general was cut to pieces before it was thrown out of the house & most of the beds cut open & the feathers thrown out of the windows. The next evening I intended with my children to Milton but meeting two or three small parties of the ruffians who I suppose had concealed themselves in the country and my coachman hearing one of them say there he is, my daughters were terrified & said they should never be safe and I was forced to shelter them that night at the Castle.

The encouragers of the first mob never intended matters should go this length & the people in general express the utmost detestation of this unparalelled outrage & I wish they could be convinced what intimate hazard there is of the most terrible consequences from such dæmons when they are let loose in a government where there is not constant authority at hand sufficient to suppress them.

I am told the government here will make me a compensation for my own & my family's loss w^{ch} I think cannot be much less than £3000 sterl. I am not sure they will.[1] If they do not it will be too heavy for me and I must humbly apply to his Majesty in whose service I am a sufferer but this & a much greater sum would be an insufficient compensation for the constant distress & anxiety of mind I have felt for some time past & must feel for months to come. You cannot conceive the wretched state we are in. Such is the resentment of the people against the stamp duty that there can be no dependance upon the general court to take any steps to enforce or rather advise as to the payment of it. On the other hand, such will be the effects of not submitting to it that all trade must cease all courts fall & all authority be at an end. Must not the ministers be extremely embarrassed. On the one hand it will be said if concessions be made the parliament [will] endanger the loss of their authority over the colonies on the other hand if external force should be used there seems to be danger of a total lasting alienation of affection. Is there no alternative? May the infinitely wise God direct you.[2]

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[1] On December 6, 1766, an act was passed granting compensation as follows: to Hutchinson, £3194.17.6; to Oliver, £172.4.0; to Hallowell, £385.6.10; and to Story, £67.8.10. The act was disallowed by the Privy Council. See Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 903–904.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, xxvi. 146–147.

Some months after the wrecking of Hutchinson's house, Daniel Leonard, a young attorney at Taunton who then had colonial sympathies but who finally turned loyalist, related to John Adams some gossip he had gleaned in Providence at a then recent session of court in that town. Leonard spent an evening with the political club there, and on January 20, 1766, Adams wrote in his Diary this account of what Leonard had reported to him relative to the impressions of the Rhode Islanders:

> Thought Hutchinson's history did not shine; said his house was pulled down to prevent his writing more, by destroying his materials. Thought Otis was not an original genius, nor a good writer, but a person who had done and would continue to do much good service.
>
> Were very inquisitive about Mackintosh; whether he was a man of abilities or not; whether he would probably rise, in case this contest should be carried into any length (Works, ii. 182).

Two days after the riot, at the Council meeting on August 28, 1765, Governor Bernard asked the opinion of the Council as to the advisability of writing to General Thomas Gage in New York and to Lord Colville. He was advised by the Council that it was not expedient to write to them. This action must have been a parliamentary defeat for Bernard, because on the day preceding the session of the Council, he had taken upon himself to write to both Gage and Colville. The letter to Gage shows how thoroughly distressed and frightened the Governor was:

I doubt not but you will have an account of the riots at Boston, upon the business of the Stamp Act before this comes to hand. The Mob was so general & so supported, that all civil power ceased in an instant, & I had not the least authority to oppose or quiet the Mob. You are sensible how extreamly weak an American Governor is in regard to popular tumults, without a file of Men at his Command, & having no regular troops, at present, within call. In this state, I could look only towards you: and I was assured that you had but two Companies with you, and those I conceived could not be properly moved from their present stations for obvious reasons. I therefore listened to flattering hopes that these Troubles might subside of themselves, & that temporary Quiet might take place till we could hear from England. But in this I have been deceived: for the fury of the mob is grown more extravagant than ever. Last night they destroyed & rifled the L^t^ Gov^rs^ House from Top to Bottom; all his Cash, papers, furniture, Cloaths, &c, are carried off, & wasted & burned; They served M^r^ Hallowell's, Comptroller of the Customs, after the same manner; also M^r^ Story's, the Register of the Admiralty's House, all whose papers & Books, among which were all the records of the records of the Admiralty, were burned before his door: Another House, M^r^ Paxtons,[1] was intended for ruin; but begged off by the Landlord of the House. My House was not attacked at all; which I wondered at: for the other persons having offended them only by being in Office under the King, I should have thought, that I should have been reckoned the most offensive. More mischief is daily expected: Where it will end no body knows. In short, The Town of Boston is in the possession of an incensed & implacable Mob; I have no force to oppose them; I know not whether I shall be able to preserve this Castle, which

[1] Charles Paxton, marshal of the Court of Vice Admiralty, lived on the east side of Hutchinson (now Pearl) Street, about the fifth house from Milk Street: cf. C. H. Snow, History of Boston (1825), p. 260; Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lvi. 343–352; our Publications, xxv. 285 note 1.

is threatened to be attacked, if the stamped papers from England should be, as is designed, placed here. The Garrison, when compleat, amounts but to 60 men; & I dare not reenforce them out of the Country, for fear it should be the Means of betraying the place. Under these difficulties, I have nothing to do, but to apply to you, as his Majesty's Military Commander in chief; and I can only recommend to you to use such means as you shall think proper to preserve his Majestys Dominion over this Town. I am going to Cambridge to hold a Council there, & consider what is to be done on this occasion; one Measure must be to remove the Government to a place of Security, & there call the Assembly, who, I doubt not, will testify their abhorrance of these rebellious proceedings.[1]

Mixed emotions were experienced throughout Boston on the morning following the wrecking of Hutchinson's house. The North part of the town doubtless had been sleepless the greater part of the night, for the work of destruction went on until four o'clock the following morning, when daybreak admonished the mob to cease its efforts. One of the immediate results of the rioting was the calling of a town meeting. Though hastily called, the meeting was attended by quite a large concourse, including, as is suggested by several authorities, some of the citizens who were in the rioting a few hours before. They were there, doubtless, to see what was going to be done about it, with mental reservations in all that they voted that day. It does not appear that Mackintosh himself was at the town meeting, but he might have been there. It is known that he appeared in King Street that very day and before long was arrested by Sheriff Stephen Greenleaf, who had a warrant which had been issued by the Council. Just what conversation passed between Mackintosh and the Sheriff is not revealed. No blows were struck, and Mackintosh created no disturbance. Perhaps he knew that he was standing on relatively safe ground. What happened may be best judged by what is written in the diary of Thomas Hutchinson, the man most interested, and presumably as well informed as any person could be:

The Governor had summoned a council the day after the riot. The Sherriff attended; and upon enquiry, it appeared that one Mackintosh, a shoemaker, was among the most active in destroying the L^t^ Governor's house and furniture. A warrant was given to the Sherriff to apprehend him by name, with divers others. Mackintosh appeared in

[1] Bernard Papers (Harvard College Library), iv. 62–64.

King Street, and the Sherriff took him; but soon discharged him, and returned to the Council Chamber, where he gave an account of his taking him; and said that M^r^ Nath^l^ Coffin,[1] and several other gentlemen, came to him, and told him that it had been agreed that the cadets and many other persons should appear in arms the next evening, as a guard and security against a fresh riot, which was feared, and said to have been threatened, but not a man would appear unless Mackintosh was discharged. The Lieut. Governor asked, "and did you discharge him?" "Yes." "Then you have not done your duty." And this was all the notice taken of the discharge. The true reason of thus distinguishing Mackintosh was that he could discover who employed him; whereas the other persons apprehended were such as had collected together without knowing of any previous plan. It was plain the Governor thought the state of the province would not bear the execution of the law, and never moved for any other steps for a prosecution.[2]

It is not difficult to read between the lines, and perhaps in the entry itself, a feeling against Bernard, as consciously or subconsciously felt by Hutchinson. The Governor was a craven-hearted official, and having had advance notice that riots might occur that night, he had retired to Castle William, a safe place. Hutchinson, no doubt, felt that his superior should have stood by him with some show of fortitude, but in this he was disappointed.

In Hutchinson's account of the riot, a number of features invite

[1] Nathaniel Coffin was born in 1725, graduated from Harvard College in 1744, was a merchant, and at the time of the Stamp Act riots was King's Cashier of the Customs (J. H. Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp. 234–235). He was a tory in sympathies and his intercession in behalf of Mackintosh probably arose from fear of what might happen to himself, or to the Custom House to which he was attached. As receiver of customs he might be without a position if the excesses continued and the Custom House, a shining mark, should be sacked. Doubtless Sheriff Greenleaf, knowing Coffin to stand high in the opinion of the Governor's party, felt that he would be an excellent witness to cite to Hutchinson and the Council, when explaining his unwillingness to function as sheriff. Coffin may have had no regard whatsoever for Mackintosh, but it is a significant fact that he lived at the corner of Essex Street and Rainsford Lane (Harrison Avenue), and this was only a very short distance from Liberty Tree. Coffin thus had reason to know the power of the South Enders. Coffin was one of the addressers of both Hutchinson and Gage and went to Halifax when Boston was evacuated in March, 1776. He died in 1780. It is said that it was one of his sons who in August, 1775, helped cut down the Liberty Tree, when the British had complete control of the town.

[2] T. Hutchinson, Diary and Letters, i. 70–71.

comment. If he intended to suggest that the patriot leaders countenanced or arranged for the riot, the innuendo is unsupported by any known evidence. It is not at all probable that any of the Whig political leaders would have prearranged violence of that type. Nobody anticipated such a complete destruction as occurred, but nobody knew how deep was the resentment of the common people, the democrats, against the officials of the colony, the aristocrats. Class feeling entered into that short reign of terror more than has been realized. If the patriots did not arrange for the riot, they at least were able to control their grief. Behind the refusal of Greenleaf to hold Mackintosh was public opinion. Greenleaf doubtless felt that an attempt to detain the shoemaker would lead to a worse riot, and there can be no doubt that an attempt to rescue him would have occurred at once. The Lieutenant Governor evidently regarded Mackintosh not as a principal but as an agent. To this day the principals, if there were any, are not known.[1]

A reward offered by Governor Bernard for the arrest of the leaders of the mob produced no results. There were many needy citizens in Boston who could have used the £300 offered, and anybody who took Mackintosh would have been entitled to that sum, but the shoemaker remained unmolested. There were many British sympathizers who so heartily hated the radical element that they would have done almost anything to bring trouble on the leader of the mob, but they lacked courage to initiate the arrest of Mackintosh. The theory that Boston merchants, who in past years had successfully smuggled in their goods and now since the enforcement of the revenue laws were being compelled to pay duty, connived at the rioting, must have some weight. It is significant that not only in this colony, but in others wherever smuggling previously had prevailed on a large

[1] In the author's copy of Snow's History of Boston, acquired by the Boston Public Library, are annotations in ink by Mr. Snow, and corrections for a future edition. Opposite the account of the destruction of Hutchinson's house is this entry: "Mr John Rowe is said to have been the leader of the party which went to Hutchinson's. They had no design to commit such violence. C. Hopkins to R. Webster." Below this is another entry: "Similar in appearance to H. G. Otis." From this it would appear that Mr. Snow had learned that Caleb Hopkins had related to Redford Webster the above incident. It is not at all probable that John Rowe was active at the destruction of Hutchinson's house, but he may have been a spectator, and may even have gone along with the mob to see what was going to happen. Cf. Memorial History of Boston, iii. 14.

scale and now was greatly reduced through the activity of revenue officials, the rioting was most marked. Many examples in support of this observation might be cited, but one will suffice, — Newport, Rhode Island, where violence was almost as severe as in Boston. In other words, the Stamp Act got a warm reception in the colonies where a stiffening of the backbone of revenue officers through a change of policy had made a dent in the pocket-books of the merchants, who in order to recoup themselves had been obliged to advance prices of commodities to their customers. The ultimate consumer always pays. It was some of the ultimate consumers who were rioters. If the man "higher up," in this case the merchant, quietly dropped the hint that a little intimidation might help to restore the old easy conditions, when bribery was the accepted rule, it fell on willing ears. Mackintosh must bear the blame for his acts, but the responsibility for the uprising no doubt should rightfully be shared by some of the Boston merchants.

No serious efforts had ever been made to collect the duties of the Molasses Act of 1733, and so for a generation relaxation and petty corruption were the rule. It was only after the close of the French and Indian War, when England decided to revise its duties and to enforce their collection, that New England exhibited an ugly temper. Touch a man's pocket-book and you touch his primal instincts. The efforts of the Customs officials to prevent the illicit trade, which they had laxly permitted for more than thirty years, were among the chief causes of the Stamp Act rioting. Governor Bernard wrote on this point in 1764: "if conniving at foreign sugar and molasses, and Portugal wines and fruit, is to be reckoned Corruption, there was never, I believe, an incorrupt Custom House official in America till within twelve months; and, therefore Incorruption in the best of them must be considered, not as a positive, but comparative term." [1] In this observation, from a high British official who must have known what the state of the province was, the key is found to the reason for the attacks upon the offices of Story, Hallowell, and Hutchinson. That Paxton's house and the Custom House were two other intended points of attack but escaped, one through the special pleading of a friend and the other because too securely guarded, is also significant. With these conditions in mind, it is easier to understand

[1] Cited by J. T. Adams, Revolutionary New England, p. 269.

why Mackintosh was not apprehended and jailed. Why arrest a shoemaker of most humble circumstances when the real offenders were the substantial merchants of the town, some of whom were known smugglers, Daniel Malcom and John Hancock, for instance? The list might be lengthened.

Mackintosh was not the only person who was arrested for the Hutchinson riot. A man whose surname was Moore was apprehended, and at least two others were committed to jail.[1] Moore possibly was Hugh Moore, whose son Thomas Moore is known to have been in the Boston Tea Party eight years later. The identity of this group of rioters is a matter of conjecture. Early in October, before the trial of these men was due, a party of men entered the house of the jailer in the night, compelled him to deliver up the keys of the prison, which they opened and set the accused and other prisoners — seven or eight in all — at liberty. All this was effected without tumult or alarm to any except the jailer and his immediate family. The persons liberated kept out of sight for a time; "but there was no authority," says Hutchinson, "which thought it advisable to make any inquiry after them." [2]

There can be little doubt that many of the rioters at Hutchinson's house were not Boston men, although the greater part of them probably came from the South End. The attack on these several houses had been whispered about for a day or so in advance. On the water front in particular this rumor was current. The Boston News Letter for November 7, 1765, hastens to pass the responsibility for the riots

[1] S. G. Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 701.

[2] History of Massachusetts, iii. 126. An account of the jail delivery and escape of these prisoners was reported to the Council at its meeting on October 2, 1765, by Sheriff Greenleaf. He said that divers prisoners had escaped, three of whom had been committed on account of the late riots. The Council must have received the news with equanimity, for on October 3 their disposition of the problem was as follows:

> The Board were of opinion that it does not appear the Escape was effected by any armed force, but that the Prisoners were privately assisted by some of their friends without, and that they accomplished their purpose thro' the weakness of the Goal, and that it being the duty of the Sheriff in such cases to issue his advertisement for the recovery of such prisoners, it is not incumbent on the Government to issue any Proclamation on this occasion (Council Records, xvi. 52, 54).

Search of the Boston newspapers of that period does not disclose any advertisement issued by the Sheriff for the apprehension of these prisoners, or for the arrest of those who released them.

to outside parties, in the following account written in approval of the union celebration of Pope Day that year:

> The Evening was more remarkable for Peace and Quietness than common; a circumstance that would at any Time redound to the Honor of the Town, but was still more agreeable, as the Fears of many were great least it should prove another 26th of August; for the horrid Violences of which Night we hope the good Order of this will in some Measure atone, as it is a proof such Conduct was not agreeable to the Sentiments of the Town, but was only the lawless Ravages of some Foreign Villians, who took Advantage of the overheated Temper, of a very few people of this Place, and drew them in to commit, such Violences and Disorders as they shuddered at with Horror in their cooler Hours (p. 1/3).

By "cooler hours" presumably is meant after the fumes of the Madeira wine had cleared from their brains. Eight pipes of wine were consumed from the Hutchinson cellar alone, and there was considerable wine at the sacking of Story's house.

The ease with which Mackintosh secured his release from the sheriff is a striking commentary on the state of discipline in the town. Greenleaf was a tory, but he was an easy-going one. He continued to live in Boston after the Declaration of Independence. He seems ever to have moved along the lines of least resistance, and to have had some appreciation of the limits of authority in a town where public opinion did not support the execution of the law. Perhaps his liberal attitude toward political offenders saved him from being driven out of the town.

Because the Stamp Act riots of Boston occurred almost ten years before the American Revolution began, there has been a general disposition to minimize their importance. They are looked upon as disgraceful and almost indefensible. Granted their unpleasant features, it is significant that following the riot of August 14, 1765, when Oliver's house was injured, a "union" or agreement was formed in town not to import any goods from England until the Stamp Act was repealed. This decision shows the influence of the merchants. It suggests that if they were not physically members of these disorderly crowds, they at least sympathized in a measure with the vengeance that the rabble directed against the officials engaged in enforcing the new revenue laws. So Hutchinson was right in regarding Mackintosh as an agent and not as a principal.

As might be expected, the protesting patriots formally observed the day which was set for the Stamp Act to go into operation — November 1. The effigies of George Grenville and John Huske were hung on Liberty Tree, where they remained until afternoon, when they were taken down, borne about the streets, and again hung up on the gallows on the Neck, and "after continuing some Time were cut down, when the Populace, in token of their utmost Detestation of the Men they were designed to represent, tore them to Pieces and flung their Limbs with Indignation into the Air."[1] Great fears were entertained before the arrival of Pope Day, four days later, lest there should be a duplication of the rioting of the preceding August 26th. These fears were entirely unfounded, due to the fact that influential persons took precautions to prevent disorder. It thus happened that on November 5 the two factions of the North End and South End harmonized and, after a friendly meeting in King Street, marched together to Liberty Tree. The leaders — Mackintosh of the South End and Samuel Swift of the North End — appeared in military habits, with small canes resting on their left arms, having music in front and at flank. All the property used on such occasions was afterward burned on Copp's Hill.[2] This shows that Mackintosh could be a force for order as well as disorder.

It is hard to say which was the more unpopular in Boston at the time of the Stamp Act, Hutchinson or Oliver. Probably the Lieutenant Governor was more generally detested by the patriots, but Oliver was a close second, and as time went on he did not improve his standing, as is seen by the fact that in 1772, when his body was being lowered into the grave, some irreverent townsman headed the giving of three cheers. The destruction of the building on King Street, in the course of the riot of August 14, 1765, which was supposed to be designed as a Stamp Office, and owned by Oliver, was regarded as a bit of effective work by the opponents of the Stamp Act, but the story went about the town, a little later, that Oliver intended to attempt to administer the office of distributor of stamps. This aroused the populace, and he was asked to make a declaration that he did not intend so to act. Accordingly Oliver gave out a statement to the Boston newspapers, disclaiming his intention to

[1] Boston Gazette, November 4, 1765, p. 1/3.

[2] F. S. Drake, Tea Leaves, p. cxxvi.

act under the Stamp Act. The statement read well enough and should have been satisfactory, but it was not so received and a more unequivocal declaration was demanded. Accordingly Oliver was summoned to appear at Liberty Tree,[1] at 12 o'clock noon, December 17, 1765, and make a plain and acceptable statement of his intentions. Oliver tried to avoid such a public humiliation, but the Sons of Liberty were insistent and he had to yield. "It happened," writes Drake, "to be a rainy and tempestuous day, and Mr. Oliver was obliged to march through the streets exposed to the weather. But what added, probably, not a little to his mortification, Mr. Mackintosh, a chief leader among the Liberty Party, attended him at his right hand to the Tree, at the head of an immense multitude." [2] Mr. Adams gives a brief but satisfying picture of what happened:

> Although Andrew Oliver had resigned his office as distributor, he was forced by the Sons of Liberty, with much indignity, to appear at Liberty Tree on December 17th, and in the presence of two thousand people to declare on oath that he would never take any measures to enforce the act. The shoemaker, Mackintosh, the leader of the earlier rioters, stood at his right hand; no grand jury would consider the proceedings unlawful, and apparently they were instigated by the popular leaders. One of the remarkable features of the day was that the militia having refused to muster at the governor's order, Mackintosh, who claimed to have one hundred and fifty trained men, took charge of the town and paraded the streets arm in arm with Colonel [William] Brattle, a member of Council, although known as the leader of the mob in various riots, including the destruction of the lieutenant-governor's house.[3]

This certainly is a very interesting picture, both of the meeting at Liberty Tree and of its aftermath in which Brattle and Mackintosh fraternized. During the reading of Oliver's disclaimer, Mackintosh stood at his right hand, not for the purpose of intimidating him but for the protection of the unlucky official on the colonial grill. As "Captain General of Liberty Tree" it doubtless was one of his duties to see that any tory who appeared by invitation, especially any there for the purpose of renouncing a royal appointment, was

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[1] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 246–247.

[2] S. G. Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, p. 712.

[3] J. T. Adams, Revolutionary New England, p. 334.

treated with some show of courtesy, and was at least not assaulted or given over to the mob to be tarred and feathered. Oliver was safer than he would have been if the Stamp Act rioter had not been on hand. It is significant that the selectmen and other town officers were spectators at the above described scene of renunciation under the elm, and it is apparent that public opinion was in favor of the action taken by the Sons of Liberty.

From this account and from the action taken by him at the time Hutchinson's house was wrecked in seeing that the building was not set on fire, it is evident that Mackintosh, while believing in what we to-day call direct action and sabotage, was no mere brawler. He had qualities of leadership that fitted him to command the support of the crowd. If he had, as is said, a hundred and fifty men who were willing to be led by him, he had no mean following, and was a local power with which the authorities must reckon. Mackintosh's appearance with Brattle may have been vanity, or it may have been due to the fact that Brattle had a good number of glasses of Madeira under his belt. The parade may have been done on impulse as a burlesque, but it is noteworthy that no riot occurred that day.

So busy had Ebenezer Mackintosh been in directing Pope Day celebrations, in seeing that riots were not turned into disastrous arson parties, in arranging that Liberty Tree should shed its light in proper effulgence, to say nothing of the daily task of making shoes, that he reached the age of twenty-nine before he was married. This is late in life for a colonist of that period to begin wedded bliss, but the delay may have been caused by the fact that he did not have enough money to warrant matrimony. It may be, however, that he was regarded as such an apostle of violence by the women of Boston that none of them took a chance until he was past the age of burning youth. At twenty-nine, however, he married into a good family, and it is noticeable that he did not unite with one of the South End girls, but with one from the North End, where his reputation supposedly was held in no high esteem, as broken heads on Pope Day could testify. His bride was Elizabeth Maverick, baptized December 25, 1743, daughter of Jotham and Mehitable (Banks) Maverick.[1] The branch of the family into which he married was eminently

[1] W. P. Greenlaw, manuscript genealogy of the Maverick family (New England Historic Genealogical Society).

respectable, but like himself not well endowed with worldly goods. Elizabeth and Ebenezer were married August 7, 1766,[1] not quite a year after the wrecking of Hutchinson's house and about six months after the sensational seizure of a Stamp Act clearance at the Custom House, the latter of which will be mentioned later. The ceremony was performed by no less a personage than the Rev. Andrew Eliot, minister of the New North Church. It was he who a year before had searched the muddy streets near Hutchinson's house in a surprisingly successful effort to restore to the owner the manuscripts of historic value which had been scattered by the crowd.[2] The fact that Mr. Eliot officiated at this wedding is something of a surprise. There is no other clew in the life of Ebenezer as to his church preference, if he had any, but being of Scotch stock, he perhaps was a dissenter in religion. At any rate the Mavericks were Congregationalists and Elizabeth was married by her pastor.

Two children were born of this marriage: Elizabeth, born December 12, 1767, and Paschal Paoli, born March 31, 1769.[3] Both lived to maturity and have numerous descendants, but so far as is known not a single descendant of Ebenezer lives in Boston or vicinity. Apparently married life steadied Mackintosh, for nothing is found recorded against him from that day until the time of the Boston Tea Party, so for about seven years he either stayed his hand or acted cautiously, in spite of numerous temptations, for there were plenty of riots in Boston between 1766 and 1773. The Liberty sloop riot of June 10, 1768, when the houses of revenue officers were damaged, caused a great commotion in town, but there is no mention of Mackintosh as a participant, and the British would have been quick to put the blame on him, if they could. Perhaps Elizabeth Maverick exacted a pledge of orderly public conduct from Ebenezer before she consented to the wedding; at any rate, it was not until after she was dead that he seems to have resumed his avocation of master of destruction.

Selection of the name Paschal Paoli for his child, as already indicated, was a tribute to the Corsican revolutionary leader whose name was on the lips of many patriotic citizens at this period. Toasts

[1] Boston Records, xxx. 54.
[2] Massachusetts and its Early History (Lowell Institute Lectures, 1869), p. 23.
[3] Boston Records, xxiv. 315, 319.

to Paoli were common, towns were named for him, and for a short time he was a hero to the radical colonists in America. On March 10, 1769, a patriotic group met at a tavern in Philadelphia in commemoration of Paoli's birthday. The Sons of Liberty in Boston often spoke and wrote about Paoli, and it is no surprise that children should be named in his honor. The Boston Evening Post for April 24, 1769, issued less than a month after the birth of Mackintosh's child, has this item: "A person in this town lately had a child baptized by the name of Paschal Paoli." Probably this referred to the addition to Ebenezer's family, but it may have referred to some other family, for the name is by no means extremely rare.[1] The name Pascal (thus spelled) has been carried on in the Mackintosh family, but the Paoli has disappeared.

While Ebenezer seems to have been leading a reasonably quiet family life, one incident must have embittered him more than ever against the British. This was the Boston Massacre, which occurred March 5, 1770, in which one of the victims was Samuel Maverick, a half-brother of his wife Elizabeth. This young man was only seventeen years old, and his death seems to have been more of an accident than that of some of the others who were out that night for trouble. Maverick had only just left a house that was near, and had arrived at the scene of the turbulence, when a bullet laid him low and he died the next day. Doubtless the loss of this promising young man, for he was well regarded, did not improve Mackintosh's disposition. Incidentally it may be observed that Mackintosh himself was not a participant in the Boston Massacre.

Emphasis has been laid on the fact that Mackintosh was of Scottish extraction. Quite a number of the Scots of Boston supported the British official régime, but that there was a division of opinion is evident from a letter written November 24, 1774. This extract follows:

> It is great injustice to the Patriots on your side of the water to charge the Scots here with being enemies to the Americans. A Scotch shoemaker was the leader of all our mobs during the time of the Stamp-act, which pulled down the Stamp Office, demolished the Lieutenant Governor's house, and broke into the Secretary's, and forced him to Liberty

[1] On January 14, 1769, a son of Elihu and Elizabeth Hewes was baptized by the name of Paoli (Boston Records, xxiv. 318).

Tree, where they swore him out of office. This person, whose name is Mackintosh, has ever since continued a leading man among us. Another Scotchman, whose name is H——p,[1] (originally a weaver from Haddington, a small town somewhere in the south of Scotland, but who left Glasgow in the year 1746, from an apprehension of the prophecies of Thomas, a Rhymer,[2] being nearly accomplished) has also made a considerable figure among us in our late disturbances. This man, naturally of a superstitious turn of mind, brought with him to America all the necessary qualifications for a New England saint[3] of the first order; and he has not hid his talent in a napkin. Having been very successful in trade, he purchased an estate in Brooklyne, a few miles from this town; and pretending to be a friend to government, he got himself made a Justice of the Peace by Governor Bernard; but was no sooner appointed, than he acted in direct opposition to his former pretences. He was Moderator of the town meetings at Brooklyne, where he lives; was of the Committee of Correspondence, and one of the Committee that came in from the neighboring towns to assist and advise with the metropolis on the destruction of the teas. This Justice of the Peace had too much prudence, and too much regard for his own person, to go on board the ships himself; but it is certain he came into Boston, and lent his advice, and the tea was accordingly destroyed. In all our late commotions he has professed himself on the side of the saints, and an enemy to the British merchants. He will soon go to Great Britain, and has promised to tell the people of England that they are imposed upon; and the merchants that they must be ruined, if the Parliament pretend to usurp any authority over our House of Assembly. While he remains in Britain, he will, I suppose, reside at Glasgow, where you will have an opportunity of seeing this Scotch American patriot. By the vessel which will bring you this letter, I shall send a packet of news-papers; so need not

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[1] The reference is to William Hyslop, who was born about 1711 in Scotland, came to this country and was living in Brookline in 1767, and resided there until his death in 1796. He was accounted wealthy for that time, having started as a pedler of dry goods and afterwards became a tradesman. He was moderator of the Brookline town meetings in 1771 and 1772, and was made a member of its Committee of Correspondence in December, 1772. He was abroad at the time the American Revolution opened and was unable to return until the war closed. In 1793 he gave the town of Brookline funds with which to build a schoolhouse. His daughter Elizabeth married Governor Increase Sumner. (Harriet F. Woods, Historical Sketches of Brookline, pp. 301–306.)

[2] For Thomas the Rhymer, see Dictionary of National Biography and Encyclopædia Britannica under Erceldoune.

[3] For the expression "New England saints," see our Publications, xiv. 190–191.

repeat to you any of our publick news; they will come to you without any postage, as she is bound for the Clyde. I hope you will make this public, that the stains that have been thrown upon the Scotch in New England, for their want of patriotism, and for their taking part with Government, may be wiped off.[1]

For four generations tradition has preserved in the Mackintosh family the account of an incident occurring in Boston in the Stamp Act era, in which Ebenezer Mackintosh figured, which it is possible to identify with reasonable certainty. This account as related by Mrs. Grace Arabella Gray of Northfield, Minnesota, great-great-granddaughter of Ebenezer, before the Josiah Edson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, at a meeting in December, 1922, is as follows:

Ebenezer was a leader in many acts considered by the Mother Country as highly rebellious. As far as we know his first recorded doings are in connection with the Stamp Act, 1765. He and his patriotic companions, "the Sons of Liberty," conceived the idea of seizing the Stamp Act Papers one evening from the British officers who were having a meeting there in a hall in Boston. On arriving at the door, the fellows with him were chary about going in, so left. Mackintosh entered alone and demanded the papers. The presiding officer white with fear promptly delivered the document into his hands. He passed out with no delay and later with his companions made a bonfire of it. The British officers were amazed at such boldness, but did not dare to harm him, thinking he must be backed by a large force outside.

After a careful survey of the various Boston events of the Stamp Act period, of which there is known record, it seems probable that the foregoing incident happened on Monday, February 24, 1766. No other known occurrence so well fits the Mackintosh family tradition, although the news accounts of the events of that day reveal some variations from the foregoing account. The patriots in practically all the colonies began to stage demonstrations against enforcement of the Stamp Act, soon after it went into effect, November 1, 1765. The custom of these remonstrants was curiously uniform and shows that the patriots read the current newspapers with care, and copied each other's methods. The plan usually was to seize a document to

[1] Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, February 25, 1775. For this extract I am indebted to Mrs. James F. Willard of Boulder, Colorado.

which one of the stamps had been affixed or was imprinted and burn it after public or semi-public exercises. Throughout the colonies by agreement, February 20, 1766, had been selected as a day on which Stamp Act papers would be publicly burned. On that day some papers were burned in Boston with due solemnity,[1] and previously on February 14 some were burned on Boston Neck. In neighboring towns, particularly Salem,[2] Marblehead, Newburyport,[3] Newport, Rhode Island,[4] and in New London, Connecticut,[5] there were exciting scenes of Stamp Act conflagrations at about this time. In Boston, on Monday, February 24, 1766, there occurred the incident in which Mackintosh is thought to have figured. On Saturday, February 22, there arrived in Boston from Jamaica a vessel of which Captain Thacher was in charge. His ship had a clearance, issued in the West Indies, which was on stamped paper. Soon after his arrival this news reached the ears of the local patriotic organization calling itself "the True-Born Sons of Liberty" and its members took appropriate action. As a result of the conference among themselves, a request for action was issued in writing to one of their resolute members. This request, as printed in the Boston News Letter of February 27, 1766 (page 3/2), reads as follows:

Boston, 24th Feb. 1766.
Monday, XI o'clock

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THE Sons of Liberty being informed that a Vessel has arrived here with stamped clearances from Jamaica, desire that you would go and demand in their Names those marks of Creole Slavery; and when you have obtained them, commit to the Flames in King-Street, This Day at one o'clock; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Signed, by Order of the True-born SONS of LIBERTY.

M. Y. Sec.

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[1] See Boston News Letter, February 27, 1766, p. 3/2. On that occasion Liberty Tree was pruned. The Boston Evening Post of February 17 stated that the carpenters were offered pay for their work but refused, stating that it was work done for the public good. The account says that "a gentleman well skill'd in those affairs" acted "as director" (p. 2/3). Perhaps this is a reference to Mackintosh, as he was First Captain General of Liberty Tree.

[2] Boston News Letter, February 6, 1766, p. 3/1.

[3] Boston News Letter, March 20, 1766, p. 1/2.

[4] Boston News Letter, April 10, 1766, p. 2/3.

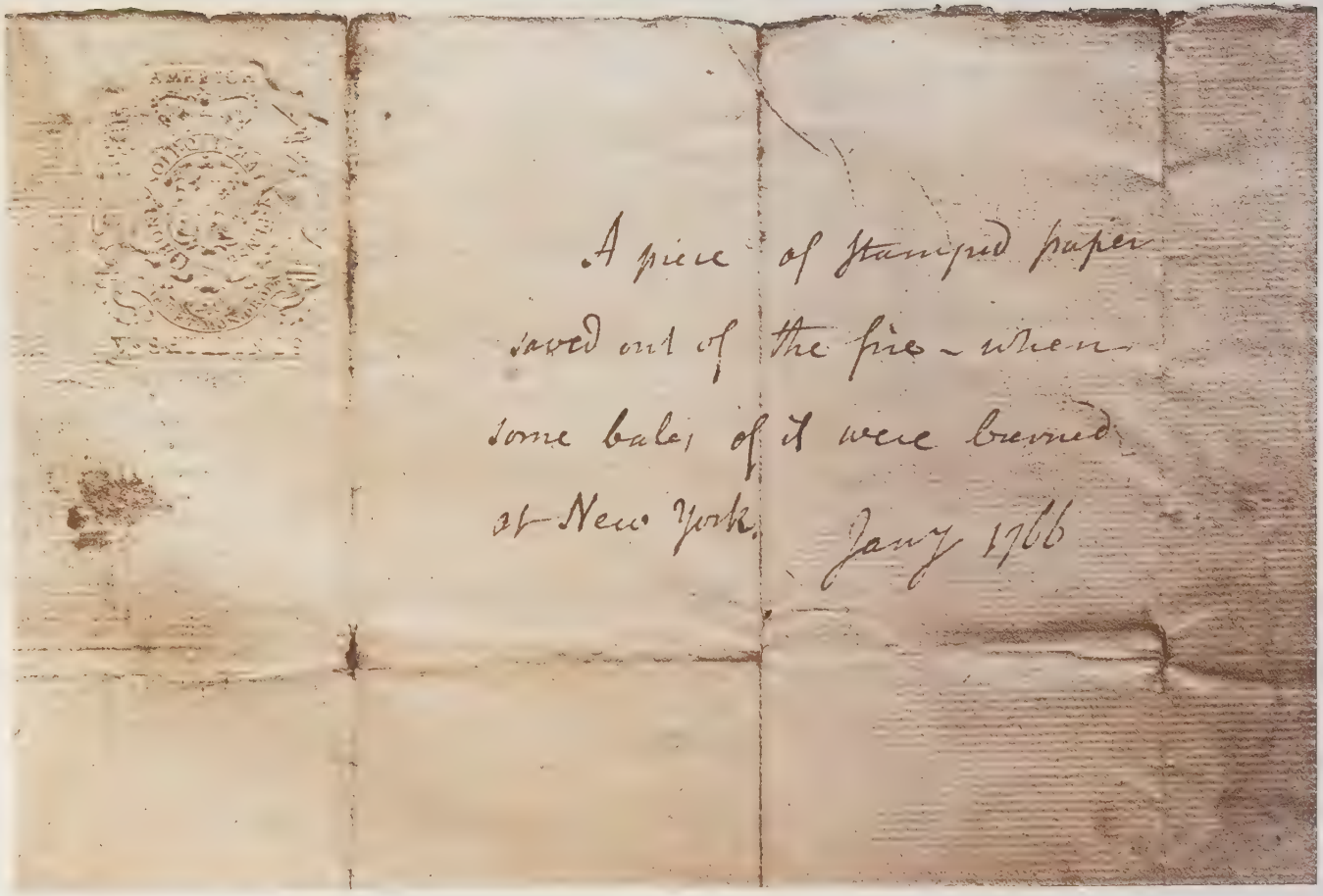
[5] Boston News Letter, March 27, 1766, p. 3/3.

The account reads:

Whereupon the Person to whom the above was directed, with a Number of others, immediately on the Receipt thereof, repaired to the Vessel, and being told the Captain was gone to enter at the Custom-House, they proceeded thither; when the above Warrant being shewn, the said stamped Clearance was delivered to them; they then fixed it on a Pole, and carried it to the lower End of the Court-House, where they put the Pole in the Stocks, and exposed the Paper to publick view until the Time appointed for Execution: At one o'clock the Warrant was read with an audible Voice, the Executioner then carried the guilty Criminal to the Centre of King-Street, and with a lighted Match set Fire to one of the S——p-A—ts, and with that burnt the Offspring of the Hydra-headed Monster; while the Smoak was ascending the Executioner pronounced the following Words, viz. — "Behold! The Smoak ascends to Heaven, to witness between the Isle of Britain and an injured People!" — Three Cheers were then given and the Change clear in a few Minutes, without the least Disorder.[1]

It seems altogether probable that it was Ebenezer Mackintosh who went to the Custom House with this mandate of the True Born Sons of Liberty. If so, it was to him that the stamped clearance was delivered, since he was alone. He may also have been the so-called "Executioner," but there is no evidence on that point. In view of Mackintosh's prominence in the destruction of Hutchinson's house, and his subsequent release from arrest, naturally he would be one of the first considered for such an errand. Having established his immunity from arrest on a previous and more trying occasion, he could be depended upon to take care of himself and perform the desired service, in a relatively unimportant enterprise. Such would be the line of reasoning. The True Born Sons of Liberty counted on results, and they were not disappointed when Ebenezer was involved. After a careful study of this incident and of others which might possibly refer to the traditionary account, it would seem, beyond a reasonable doubt, that it was Ebenezer who performed this deed of daring. It was such a public event that no newspaper at that period would omit mention of it, and an examination of the newspapers of 1765 and 1766 produces nothing that can fit in so many respects the tradition of the Mackintosh family.

[1] See p. 64 note, below.



A Piece of Stamped Paper, 1765

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society

There are some variations, however, between the news account and the family version, and they deserve to be mentioned. The tradition says there was a meeting in a hall. That variation is not serious, since it may well have been that the arrival of a stamped clearance would call the customs officials together to consider the situation. Mackintosh may have arrived just as the deliberations were under way. The tradition, however, that the affair happened in the evening is too important to be explained except on the ground that the tradition is in error on that point. There is the bare possibility that Mackintosh demanded and secured the paper on the previous night, but the fact that his mandate is dated Monday, and that Sunday night presumably was not a time when the British officials would be holding a session, gives little weight to such a supposition. The tradition, so well sustained by the news account in other respects, must be judged to be wrong in the time at which the incident is said to have occurred. Not many traditions which come down only by word of mouth for four generations will stand such a critical test.[1] In another respect the tradition of the family coincides with the news event related. The family believe him to have been an active Son of Liberty, and this deed was initiated by that organization. He was a militant member of this group of patriots and he named his first-born son Paschal Paoli, a name that would not have been selected had he not been an enthusiastic radical.

So far as public acts are concerned, nothing in Mackintosh's known record after the Stamp Act period and until the Boston Tea Party requires comment. Much weight should be given to the Mackintosh family tradition that he participated in the Boston Tea Party. Descendants of children by his first wife, and by his second wife as well, living somewhat widely apart, have the same story, namely, that he was an active participant in the affair. Inasmuch as this information originally came from Mackintosh himself, in the absence of contradictory statements it must be given a full measure of credence. In later years Mackintosh repeatedly claimed that he was the leader of the Tea Party. He was not its originator, but that he had a hand in the affair seems reasonably certain.

[1] For two remarkable cases of verification of family traditions, see Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlii. 193–195.

Benjamin B. Thatcher, writing in 1835, when seven or eight of the participants in the Tea Party were living, gives a Mackintosh as being in the party, but the given name is omitted.[1] This omission has permitted writers to conjecture that Peter Mackintosh was in the party, but Peter Mackintosh was only about fifteen years old at that time, and the earlier record for violence, established by Ebenezer, gives weight to the theory that the Mackintosh named was the Stamp Act rioter returned to his old trade.[2] The Boston Tea Party was a most serious affair, a very bold piece of work, and just the kind of an undertaking that would have appealed to the daring Mackintosh. This event was much talked about in England and in all the other colonies. Great efforts were made by the British to connect Hancock and Adams with the plans for destroying the tea. Perhaps Mackintosh knew more about the origin of the affair than the leaders liked. At any rate Mackintosh left town some months

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[1] Traits of the Tea Party, pp. 262, 264. Cf. F. S. Drake, Tea Leaves, pp. xciii, cxxvi–cxxviii.

[2] There is considerable confusion in various publications as to the identity of the Mackintosh who was in the Tea Party and the Mackintosh who led the Stamp Act riots. Caleb A. Wall says that Captain Peter McIntosh had a blacksmith shop near the wharf where the tea was thrown overboard, and that the men went into it to blacken their faces preparatory to the work of throwing the tea overboard. He adds: "He resided during his last years in North Haverhill, Grafton County, N. H., where he died in 1810 or 1811 in the family of a Mrs. Hurlbut" (Historic Boston Tea Party, 1896, p. 64). This is an error. No Peter McIntosh lived in North Haverhill, N. H., at this period, and it was Ebenezer who lived at the home of Mrs. Hurlbutt. Through Mr. Wall's investigations the name of Peter McIntosh has been placed on the Slater monument in Worcester, Mass., in the list of participants in the Tea Party. It is probable that he was not engaged in that undertaking, and it is absolutely certain that he was not the leader of the Stamp Act riots. Thatcher makes this comment:

> The Mr. McIntosh mentioned above is said to be still living in Vermont. Mr. Peter McIntosh, of this city, was at that time a blacksmith's apprentice, and upon the mention of the fact spoken of in the text, — that some of the Party ran into such places to disguise their faces hastily with the soot, — recals the circumstance that several of them visited his master's premises with that view. He remembers [Thomas] Spear, among them (Traits of the Tea Party, p. 262).

Though Thatcher was mistaken in supposing that Ebenezer Mackintosh was still living in 1835, since he had died in 1816, yet his statement about Peter Mackintosh, made during the lifetime of the latter and by inference after a discussion with him of the events attending the Tea Party, would seem to be almost conclusive evidence that Peter Mackintosh was not an active participant in the destruction of the tea.

later. Many years afterward, about 1810, he said to a young man named Schuyler Merrill of Haverhill, New Hampshire, in speaking of the Tea Party: "It was my chickens that did the job." This remark was not then understood by Merrill, who was only ten years old, but in later years its full significance came to him.

Some time between the date of the Tea Party, December 16, 1773, and the following summer, when the Boston Port Bill and other parliamentary repressive measures had gone into effect, Mackintosh left Boston, and so far as is known never returned. He thus missed Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, doubtless greatly to his regret, when he heard of those conflicts. It was time that Mackintosh left Boston, for if any resident had shown open treason, he was the one. The British had evidence against him, had long had it, but had merely not found it expedient to take any action. It is true that when compensation was voted to Hutchinson and the other sufferers from riots in 1765, a clause was attached to the measure, pardoning any offenders or participants in those violent scenes, but this clause was not inserted particularly to shield Mackintosh and his associates from prosecution, but was designed to release from thraldom some clients of Joseph Hawley, who had been convicted of disturbances in the Berkshire district of this colony, at the time of the Stamp Act, and who had gone to jail rather than pay a fine. Mackintosh, however, was saved from prosecution by the exemption clause in the act granting compensation.

The Mackintosh family tradition is that the British offered a reward for him dead or alive. This is understood to have been after the Tea Party. No known handbill or executive order makes any offer for his capture. It is perfectly plain that it was as necessary for him to get out of Boston as it was for Hancock and Adams at a slightly later period to leave the town. The British would have enjoyed deporting all three of them, and others as well. Indeed, a rumor that their deportation had been ordered soon became current. This news item, taken from a London paper of April 7, 1774, was reprinted in the Massachusetts Spy of May 19:

> It may be depended on that a sloop of war sailed from Plymouth 14 days since for Boston, with orders to bring to England, in irons, Messrs. Hancock, Row, Adams, and McIntosh; the latter has been very active among the lower order of people, and the other among the higher.

Should government kidnap and bring over as prisoners the leading patriots at Boston, it is much to be feared it will cause an insurrection.[1]

Mackintosh, accordingly, left Boston, and in so doing probably acted with prudence.

A modern Boston author, James H. Stark, who sympathized with the loyalists of the Revolutionary period, referring to the Boston Port Bill and other repressive parliamentary measures says:

That these Acts of the British Parliament at this time was necessary is beyond question, for there was a mob in Revolutionary Boston at this time, scarcely less foul-mouthed, pitiless, unscrupulous, than that which

[1] P. 2/1. Although this statement was incorrect, as time disclosed, the publishers may have believed that it was true. Mackintosh and the three others mentioned, and others not mentioned, may well have felt that their personal liberty was in danger and have governed themselves accordingly.

The information that the above-named mixed quartet of three high-brows and one low-brow was about to be transported in irons was supposed to inspire terror. As a matter of fact it merely made the Boston leaders more wary and cautious, for they relaxed their campaign but little. The British plan to seize and transport the most troublesome patriots was not a new proposal. Six years before Lord Hillsborough in anger had proposed to invoke a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII, which enacted that English subjects charged with committing treasonable acts beyond the confines of England might be brought home for trial. Friends of the American colonists at once pointed out that the act was passed at one of the worst periods of English history and before any English colonies had been planted in America. Moreover it was designed to meet a different situation. Hillsborough, however, stubbornly persisted that the statute was legally available, but to meet the objections of the critics of the ministry, the next year (1769) he induced Parliament to pass an act which extended the operation of the statute of Henry VIII so that unquestionably it could be invoked to meet the situation in America. Hillsborough's influence waned at this juncture and nothing was done toward creating a test case. Thereafter the statute was a standing menace and threat to all American colonists who presumed militantly to act or speak in behalf of their rights. But nobody was sent across the water to face a treason charge in English courts. Soon after the Boston Tea Party rumors were revived in London that the leading incendiaries of Boston were to be brought to England to answer for the destruction of the tea. In Boston the Hutchinson party tried hard to find someone who would implicate Hancock and Adams in the plan to destroy the tea, but evidence was not forthcoming. It was about this time that the London news item quoted in the text appeared, mentioning not only Hancock and Adams but Rowe and Mackintosh. Why they left out William Molineux and Dr. Thomas Young, who were known participants in the Tea Party, does not appear. Why they included John Rowe is a puzzle, unless they credited him with the remark (which he probably did not make): "Who knows how tea and salt water will mingle?" Inclusion of Mackintosh's name in this list is a straw indicating that he was in the Tea Party and

roared for the blood of the Bourbons in revolutionary Paris, or that of the Communes of later times. Mackintosh and his crew were unmistakably in evidence, certainly not restrained, but connived at by the better men, so that those just as conscientious and patriotic, who tried by lawful ways to oppose, found destruction for their property imminent; and could feel that their lives were secure only when they had fled down the harbor to the Castle.[1]

This comment is not entirely fair, but it has some force. However, the Boston rioters of the Stamp Act period never killed anyone. They directed their attention almost entirely to the destruction of property belonging to British officials. One reason why no fatalities ever occurred in these riots was because the objects of the mob's wrath always fled. The Paris mob to which the Boston rioters are compared was actuated by hunger, whereas the Boston building-wreckers caused the ravage in support of what they deemed to be patriotic principles. Each demonstration staged was an object lesson.

When Mackintosh left Boston, it is known that his wife had died, and it seems probable that he was thinking more of the safety of his two motherless children than of his own possible peril. The tradition of the family is that he walked through the forests until he came to Haverhill, Grafton County, New Hampshire, a town on the Connecticut River distant in an air line about a hundred and fifty miles from Boston, and a considerably greater distance by any route which he may have taken. He presumably started northward sometime in the spring or summer of 1774. He took his two children with him, leading Elizabeth, aged about seven, by the hand and carrying Paschal Paoli, aged about five, in his arms. His route is not known, and it is not known whether when he left Boston he even knew what his destination might be. If Mackintosh passed through the town of Groton, Massachusetts, about thirty miles northwest of Boston, he may have there learned that his old army associate, Captain Ephraim Wesson, whom he must have known in the campaign of 1758, had settled in Haverhill, New Hampshire, and may have heard favorable accounts of the future of that town. In any

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had remained in Boston up to the spring of 1774, being "active among the lower order of people," — which can be taken to mean the working people, or people of moderate means.

[1] Loyalists of Massachusetts, p. 167.

event, he finally reached Haverhill. This was before September 27, 1774, for on that date his name is affixed as a witness to a contract to build a house, executed in Newbury, Vermont, which town is across the Connecticut River at a nearly opposite point.

This journey through the wilderness, encumbered as he was with two small children and carrying his shoemaking implements, was a remarkable feat. Perhaps he travelled by easy stages from settlement to settlement, and no doubt he was assisted by kindly pioneers whom he met, but the undertaking, nevertheless, was a most difficult task. The brief published accounts of Mackintosh's life, in the History of Ryegate, Vermont, a town across the river from Haverhill, but a little farther north, in which Mackintosh lived for a time, and in the History of Haverhill, both intimate that he was obliged to leave Boston by "men higher up," who feared that he might talk too much about the Boston Tea Party. It was a decided change for Mackintosh to leave a town of fifteen thousand inhabitants, one of the largest towns on the continent, and move to a settlement in the wilds of New Hampshire containing less than four hundred people. He at once began to ply his trade as shoemaker not only in Haverhill but in the adjacent towns. He presented a claim for shoemaking against the estate of John Hazen, who died in Haverhill, September 23, 1774, so it is evident that he was well settled at that time. Thereafter he was busy at his trade and probably placed his children in the home of some kindly settler. It is known that his daughter Elizabeth, when grown up, was in the family of General Moses Dow. His son Paschal Paoli emigrated to northeastern Ohio about 1786, and must have been one of the very early settlers in that part of the state known as the Western Reserve.

The story of Mackintosh's life in Haverhill and vicinity reveals nothing of his former genius for leadership, nor is there any known event of violence in which he was involved. His circumstances ever remained humble; in fact it was practically impossible for a shoemaker in those days to acquire more than a modest competence. He took part in town affairs at Haverhill, and in 1782, 1783, and 1784 was elected sealer of leather. He held no other town office and seems not to have owned any real estate at a time when land was cheap.

For ten years after he arrived in Haverhill, Mackintosh remained

unmarried, but his children having grown up, on November 11, 1784, he was married to Elizabeth Chase of that town, a widow, and the census of 1790 records them as being a family of five — two boys and a girl. This total probably records three children by his wife's first marriage. The only children whose births are on record are John Mackintosh, born December 20, 1791, and David Mackintosh, born July 26, 1794.[1] There was another child named Moses, probably born after David, but whose birth is not recorded in Haverhill. All three of these sons later removed to Ohio and settled near their half-brother. David became quite prominent, served in the Ohio Legislature, and was active in military affairs. When he died he left a provision in his will that American flags should be purchased for each town in Portage County, the county in which Shalersville, the town in which he lived, is located.

Early in the summer of 1777, it was known in the northern colonies that General Burgoyne was planning to strike a blow from the northward. There was great anxiety in the towns along the valley of the Connecticut River for fear that Burgoyne would send his army, or a part of it, by that route. This fear, as it finally proved, was unfounded, but New Hampshire and Vermont — to give the latter, then the New Hampshire Grants, its present name — as a measure of safety, called out all their available military forces. On this occasion Ebenezer Mackintosh enrolled in the service as a private, but saw no fighting. General Jacob Bayley of Newbury, Vermont, headed a brigade in the Eastern Division of the Northern Department under the command of General Horatio Gates. It was in a company attached to Bayley's brigade that Mackintosh was enrolled. The company[2] to which he belonged was captained by Joseph Hutchins of Haverhill, the chief tavern keeper of the town, and some of the most prominent citizens, thirty-four in all, enlisted at this time. Mackintosh served from August 18 to October 6. The battle of Bennington occurred August 16, 1777, and although it was a complete victory for the Continentals, fear that Burgoyne might send more detachments into Vermont, or into the Connecticut River valley, may have caused the raising of Captain Hutchins's company. Burgoyne did not surrender until October 17, but his ultimate defeat

[1] Records of Births, Haverhill, N. H.

[2] New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, ii. 280.

was indicated some weeks before that time. That is the reason why Captain Hutchins's force was disbanded eleven days before that event, and perhaps three weeks before the news of the capture reached them. For the service performed at this time Mackintosh was paid £5.7.11.

On at least one other occasion Mackintosh was in the field, that being in October, 1780. This was a brief service as a scout. The record does not state in what the scouting consisted, but known historic events in northern Vermont in October, 1780, probably indicate the scene of his services. Early in that month Major Guy Carleton sailed down Lake Champlain from the north, with a force of about a thousand British soldiers, including Loyalists and Indians. He captured Fort Ann and Fort George on Lake Champlain, and alarm spread throughout northern New England. At about this time Lieutenant Horton and a party of about three hundred, most of whom were Indians, ascended the Onion (Winooski) River and, on October 16, penetrated to Royalton, Vermont, which they burned, killed two people, took captive thirty persons, and made a rapid retreat.[1] Royalton was less than thirty miles from Haverhill, and it seems probable that the scouting duty of Mackintosh and several other Haverhill men was an effort to find out whether other British forces were in that neighborhood or might be expected. Mackintosh was paid eighteen shillings for his service, which was rendered in his fiftieth year.[2] This is an indication that he was vigorous and thoroughly trusted.

Nothing will better illustrate the hardy qualities and self-reliance of Mackintosh than the fact that in 1802, when he was sixty-five years old, he walked from New Hampshire to Mantua, in the northeastern section of Ohio, to visit his son Paschal. On this long journey he had with him his son David, then only eight years old. Later he returned to Haverhill, leaving David, having walked the entire distance. This was a journey of not less than thirteen hundred miles through forests. Probably he travelled by easy stages and went from settlement to settlement plying his trade as shoemaker on the trip. The undertaking, however, was such as only a capable and resourceful man of that advanced age would have attempted. A little

[1] H. Hall, Early History of Vermont, p. 321.

[2] New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, iii. 539.

later David returned to New Hampshire to complete his education, but after some years went back to Ohio.

Mackintosh's oldest son, Paschal Paoli, of Mantua, a small town in Ohio, seems to have lost touch with his father as the years passed, and to have developed a deeply religious state of mind. He may have been influenced by some revivalist. The following letter, written when he was fifty-seven years old to his sister in Ryegate, Vermont, is that of a man who is brooding on the thought of his approaching end. It is the only letter from him preserved in the Mackintosh family. The text follows:

My Dear & only sister.

I recd your agreeable Letter of August — 1823. I rejoicd to learn that you, Mr. Bigelow, & all the family were in health, that four of your children were honourably married, & settled near you in comfortable circumstances. We have eight children, the oldest is 23, the youngest 8. None of them are married. We have had nine, the youngest died three years ago, aged 3½ years. I will give you the names of our children in order, I wish you to do the same by me: Laura, John W., Amanda, Hannah, William F., Mary, David S., Jerome, Norman. I am greatly comforted concerning Norman, because I believe, that through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus all Infants dying in Infancy, will surely be sav'd. Our remaining children are in health, but do not appear to manifest serious concern for the salvation of their souls; O my sister; pray for them, & for your brother, & sister.

You have given me good counsel from time to time in your Letters, you have warned, & admonished me, O that your labor of love may not be lost upon me. About twenty years ago your sister, & I, were convinced (by the Grace of God) that we were in a very dangerous situation, on account of our sinfulness of heart & life. We were assisted by the spirit of God, so to repent, so to believe, & seek for mercy, by humble prayers, at the feet of Jesus, that we rec'd a hope of the remission of our sins; we often had peace, & joy, through believing; we have at some seasons, had such assurance of our acceptance with God, & of an interest in Christ, that all fear of death, & hell were removed.

We join'd the Methodist Church nearly twenty years ago, but we have been unfaithfull, we have often turnd aside from the holy commandment deliver'd unto us, & we have not now that evidence of our acceptance with God that we have had in times past; we do not however despair of mercy, we endeavour to use such means of grace, as God has appointed. Pray for us that God woud revive his work in our souls. There is reason

to fear that the Methodist people as a body are falling, and becoming more & more conformd to this world; O, that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord upon all his Churches of every denomination.

I desire to see you, but it is not probable that I ever shall in this world, & if I shoud, time has made such alterations in your appearance, that I shoud hardly believe you to be that sister, which I beheld with a pleasing sorrow, at our last parting twenty three, or four years ago. Neither shou'd I appear to you like that boy, that bid you farewell, & left you in tears, (at Gen. Dow's [1]) more than forty years since; to go & seek his fortune in lands to him unknown. You saw him no more, for six long years . . .

You kept a lock of my hair when I was a youth, to remember me by, you wou'd find now no similarity between that hair, & these white locks, which have been ever since bleeching in the wind. When you saw me last, I was in the prime of life, & vigour of manhood. Were you to see me now, you wou'd cry out, O, Time! What hast thou done? Is this Pascal? Is this my brother? O, how chang'd! — Yes, my sister, I am now a poor, old, one eyed man. I lost my right eye ten years ago, by a wheat-beard, when reaping. I find my mental, as well as bodily faculties, are fast failing, my memory has greatly faild, I am easily overcome by care, & am subject to perplexity, anxiety, discontent, uneasiness, & sometimes fretfullness of mind, without being able to tell the particular cause. O, my dear sister! God only can help our infirmities let us look to him, let us give up ourselves to him, just as we are, praying, & endeavouring, that he may make us new creatures in Christ Jesus, that we may die happy, & have inheritance among his saints, in his kingdom which is not of this world, where evil or sorrow can never come; but where all is love, & joy & peace. O, may you, & I, & all yours, & mine, & all for whom we shou'd pray, be prepard to meet together there, to worship God, in the beauty of holiness, and enjoy his love forever.

All my Brothers have good farms near me, and are doing well, for this world, they are moral, but they do not appear to extend their views beyond this world. Moses is yet unmarried.

Your sister, & all our children desire to be remembered by you, & all your family. I wrote to our Father, in 1814. (soon after my brothers returnd here, from Vermont) I am anxious to know whether he re-

[1] Moses Dow, born February, 1746, at Atkinson, New Hampshire; H. C. 1769; removed to Plymouth, New Hampshire, in 1774, to Haverhill, New Hampshire, in 1779; a prominent patriot; died March 31, 1811: see W. F. Whicher, History of Haverhill, New Hampshire, p. 514.

ceiv'd the communication,[1] before his death; I likewise wish you to inform me, if you are able, concerning the state of his mind in his last moments.

I remain, Dear sister, your loving, &
only brother.

PASCAL P. M'INTOSH [2]

Elisabeth Bigelow.
Mantua May 1st 1826.

Elizabeth Mackintosh, the first child, who, when only seven years old, made that trip of a hundred and fifty miles with her father through the wilderness to Haverhill, was married in 1786 to Jabez Bigelow, shoemaker, tavern keeper, and farmer. He was a son of Jabez and Deborah (Knowlton) Bigelow of Newbury, Vermont. They removed to Ryegate, Vermont, a town about ten miles north of Newbury, and had eleven children. Ryegate was settled in 1773 by a colony from Scotland,[3] and the atmosphere must have been congenial for Ebenezer, on account of his Scotch extraction. It is in Caledonia County, so called because of early predominating Scotch influences in that part of Vermont. At one time Mackintosh lived in Ryegate with his daughter.[4]

Not much is known about Mackintosh's personal appearance, but when he was an old man he was described as being "of slight build, sandy complexion and nervous temperament." [5] This description while brief and somewhat disappointing prevents the visualizing of a huge burly and fierce figure. A riot leader is not necessarily a man

[1] Mrs. Goodhue suggests that possibly "communication" is here used as in Philippians, iv. 10–18.

[2] For this letter I am indebted to its owner, Mrs. Sarah Arabella (Bigelow) Goodhue, of Northfield, Minnesota, a great-granddaughter of Ebenezer Mackintosh.

[3] E. Miller and F. P. Wells, History of Ryegate.

[4] One of Elizabeth's eleven children was John Bigelow, who became prominent in the affairs of the town of Ryegate and who represented that town in the Vermont Assembly in 1869. John Bigelow is the father of Mrs. Sarah Arabella Goodhue, of Northfield, Minnesota, who supplied me with useful data relative to Mackintosh. Elizabeth (Mackintosh) Bigelow died October 10, 1848, aged eighty-one. The name Pascal appears among her descendants, and also Maverick, both used as given names.

[5] F. S. Drake, Tea Leaves, p. cxxvii. The description is by Schuyler Merrill of North Haverhill, N. H.

of bulking stature, but it is natural in the absence of data to imagine a man of commanding size to qualify as leader of a mob. The dominating character of any mob leader must be his spirit and his intelligence. It was Mackintosh's spirit, his nerve, that made him foremost in any forum where determination or violence had a place. It is probable that Mackintosh was a social and companionable man, alert and vigorous, and that as he stitched the shoes for his customers he chatted with them about the state of the country, and perhaps recited some poetry for the entertainment of those who were about him. A short sketch of him says that in his later years "he talked too much" — a fault not confined to the Mackintosh family.[1]

Although no monument or memorial to Ebenezer Mackintosh stands in Boston, there is in North Haverhill, New Hampshire, what purports to be a monument erected to his memory. This was placed there under rather unusual circumstances. It appears that in 1913 officers of the Coosuck Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in North Haverhill received from the estate of John B. Peaslee of Cincinnati, Ohio, a gift of $75, which had been left by him in his will to erect a monument to "Philip Mackintosh," of Revolutionary fame. Mr. Peaslee had formerly lived in Plaistow, New Hampshire, and is said to have known about the lack of a memorial to Mackintosh. The given name as furnished by the Peaslee estate was Philip, and the officers of the local organization erected a monument to Mackintosh and inscribed it as directed. If Ebenezer Mackintosh was ever known by that given name it was within a small circle. There is the family tradition that he did change his name, but the evidence that he was known as Ebenezer in New Hampshire, in Haverhill and vicinity, is overwhelming. He signed a contract as a witness at Newbury, Vermont, in 1774, as Ebenezer, presented a bill to the estate of John Hazen in North Haverhill, in 1774, as Ebenezer, was a soldier in the uprising to repel Burgoyne in 1777 as Ebenezer, was sealer of leather in Haverhill town records as Ebenezer in 1782–1784, and was in the Census of 1790 as Ebenezer. The "Philip" is plainly wrong.

The tablet is of sandstone four feet high, twenty-six inches wide at the base, tapering to twenty-three inches at the top. It is about

[1] W. F. Whicher, History of Haverhill, N. H., p. 578.

a foot in thickness. In the centre of the stone is set a marble slab on which appears this inscription:

Hurlbutt House
Where died
Captain
Philip McIntosh
1816
A leader of
Boston Tea Party
1773 [1]

It would seem as if in the interest of historical accuracy the name Ebenezer should be substituted on the tablet for Philip. Mr. Peaslee, who made the tablet possible, never knew Mackintosh, for they were not contemporaries.

The "Hurlbutt House" mentioned in the inscription was on the poor farm of Haverhill. The town sold Ebenezer Mackintosh's services about 1810 or 1811 by auction and the manager of the poor farm, Elisha Hurlbutt,[2] bought him, and there he remained until he died. With four prosperous sons in Ohio, one of whom visited him in 1814, and with a daughter and several grandchildren living in nearby Ryegate, Vermont, it is hard to understand why their father and grandfather was thus permitted to spend his last years. The true explanation may be that he was then too old to go to Ohio, and he may have preferred to remain where he was. To the present generation his end seems melancholy.

Mackintosh is buried in Horse Meadow Cemetery, which is located between North Haverhill and Woodsville, New Hampshire. At the time the monument was erected his grave could not be identified, and so the stone was placed on the site of the house where he died.

In the early part of this study of Mackintosh emphasis was laid upon his basic Scottish extraction, and the violence and fighting through which generations of his Clan passed. The purpose of introducing those details was to permit the reader to join in the conclusion that Ebenezer Mackintosh was not a vicious and ignorant

[1] A copy of this inscription was furnished to me by Mr. Robert H. Large of Woodsville, N. H., who also described the tablet.

[2] Sometimes spelled "Hurlburt." Possibly Mrs. Hurlbutt was a relative of Mackintosh's second wife.

malefactor, not a man who deserves to be dismissed with the descriptive phrase "the rioter," but a man born with a militant nature within him, with a fighting impulse and the spirit to champion the cause he thought to be right. He regarded the colonists as right in resisting British misrule, and he acted in accordance with that belief. Three generations of quiet toiling Dedham yeomen preceded him, and then he developed in an era of stirring times. Crises appeared when direct action was demanded. He rose readily on these occasions, and fearing nothing, acted with a daring that stamps him as sprung from the Mackintoshes of old, the men of the Highlands, who lead, who defy if necessary, but who never willingly yield. Some of Mackintosh's acts cannot well be defended, but in most of his acts he appears to have been supported by that intangible but ever powerful force — public opinion.[1]

[1] The illustrations accompanying this paper, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, require some explanation. That facing page 14, above, reproduces a stamp and a counter-stamp issued under the Stamp Act of 1765. They were thus described in 1902 by Dr. Samuel A. Green:

Apparently with a die an impression was made on faded blue paper pasted over parchment, and fastened to it by a narrow strip of tin-foil; and a small piece of white paper, bearing a device as described below, was stuck on the back over the ends of the tin-foil. The impression on the blue paper is not very deep, but yet quite distinct. It contains a crown, with the word AMERICA over the top, and the letter A on one side; and the money value of the stamp is given at the bottom. In the centre of the impression is a double Tudor rose surrounded by the motto of the Order of the Garter. In the cut the foil is represented on the right of the rose. The counter-stamp, which was stuck on the back, has a crown with the letters "G R," — one letter on each side, — and the figure 3 slightly below; and a double cipher or monogram of G. R. under the whole.

The blue stamps were intended for deeds, wills, and other formal documents, and the price varied according to circumstances. All the specimens that I have seen appear to have been cut out of the corners of parchment, which have been duly embossed, but never used, as the odious Act was so soon repealed (Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England, pp. 37–38, 42. Cf. Memorial History of Boston, iii. 12 and note).

The illustration facing page 50, above, reproduces an embossed piece of stamped paper preserved in the Belknap Papers. The words "A piece of stamped paper saved out of the fire — when some bales of it were burned at New York. Jan^{y} 1766" are in red ink in the hand of the Rev. Jeremy Belknap. On the verso of the sheet are written, in black ink and in an unknown hand, the words: "One of the Detestable Marks of Slavery Rec^{d} from the sons of Liberty in Boston, & is one of those that were taken at New York."

APRIL MEETING, 1924

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. William C. Endicott, at No. 163 Marlborough Street, Boston, on Thursday, April 24, 1924, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. FRANCIS R. HART exhibited the log-book (1825–1828) of Captain Gamaliel Hart of the ship Natchez, and read the following paper:

THE NEW ENGLAND WHALE-FISHERIES

If the writer of so valuable and interesting a book as the Maritime History of Massachusetts can be charged with no greater faults than those of omission, he is indeed fortunate. Dr. Samuel E. Morison did the world, particularly that part which belongs to or is descended from New England, a very real service when he published the result of his researches into our maritime records. He himself points out certain alluring fields for further investigation; so that if one is tempted to wish that he had treated parts of his work with less brevity, this desire cannot fairly be expressed in a critical spirit. It is more reasonable to accept his implied invitation and endeavor to do what it is to be wished he had found time and opportunity to do in his own competent way. For these reasons I have ventured to prepare some notes on the New England whale-fisheries; the purpose being to supplement and amplify rather than to correct the interesting chapter which Dr. Morison devotes to this subject. It is proper to state, however, that in New Bedford, where live many of the descendants of those hard-headed and harder-fisted old sea-masters described by Dr. Morison, his description of whale-ship management is hotly disputed. Dr. Morison has been guided by recorded

evidence, unsoftened by family traditions. The present-day critic in New Bedford has an intimate knowledge of the conditions affecting whale-ship management since 1860, and his convictions in respect to the earlier customs and methods are colored by more recent-day knowledge. Dr. Morison deals with the whale-fisheries up to 1860 only; and whilst I confess to a belief that a wider search in the early log-books and records would have softened, by the application of a benign "general average," the somewhat over-strong language used by Dr. Morison, I cannot condemn as essentially inaccurate his description of the whale-fisheries prior to 1860. Many merchant captains were as despotic and cruel as the whaling masters. The suggestion that no man went whaling but once is disproved by the evidence. The sailor on a merchant ship did not suffer from the evil lay-system; but he had more continuous hard work and less leisure for the exercise of his talents in carving and other handicrafts.

It is not, however, in connection with these controversial matters that I have prepared my notes. It is my wish to record in convenient and brief form those causes which led to the establishment of the New England whale-fisheries, some of the effects of these fisheries on the life and character of our people, and the part which the whalemen played in the extension of American trade and discoveries.[1]

The early settlers of New England were in need of a greater supply of oils and fats than could be readily obtained from the animal resources at hand. Of necessity, the attention of any body of pioneers in a new country must be given to agriculture rather than to grazing, so that the supply of tallow and other animal fats was not enough for the purposes of illumination. The pine knot was at best an unsatisfactory substitute for the tallow dip or smoky lard-oil open lamp. The sea offered a more certain and, with all its dangers, a safer region for exploitation than the land, although the occasional bear or other well-nourished wild animal was valued perhaps as much for its fat as for its meat and fur.

[1] The standard work on the subject is Alexander Starbuck's History of the American Whale Fishery from its earliest inception to the Year 1876 (Waltham, 1878), originally printed in Report of the Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries for 1875–'76, Volume II, Appendix A (Washington, 1876: Senate, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Mis. Doc. No. 107).

It is recorded that among those on the Mayflower were several men experienced in fishing, who, when they arrived on this side, bemoaned the fact that suitable tackle for the capture of whales had not been brought on the ship. It is perhaps due to this record that we have not in our museums and private collections a shipload of whaling tackle alleged to have come over in the Mayflower.

Bradford and Winslow refer to the intention of certain persons to "fish for Whale" in Massachusetts Bay and to the great whales which off Cape Cod "swim and play about vs." [1] The Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem in 1629, in making a list of the commodities within the colony, includes a "great store of whales and crampusse." [2] It does not appear, however, that any early attempts were made actually to go out and capture live whales during the early years of the colony. Whales were from time to time cast up on the shore, which yielded a scanty but valuable supply of oil. Waymouth, in the journal of his voyage to America in 1605, describes the method of the Indians in killing whales.[3]

The first reference which I have found to the search for whales by Europeans in American waters is by Anthony Parckhurst, who in a letter to Richard Hakluyt dated 13 November, 1578, says, speaking of Newfoundland: "I am informed that there are above 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie to kill Whale for Traine." [4] The second is in an account by Silvester Wyet, dated 24 September, 1794, of "The voyage of the Grace of Bristol of M. Rice Jones . . . up into the Bay of Saint Laurence . . . for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle." [5] The third is by Richard Norwood in his "Insularum de la Bermuda Detectio." [6] He says that men from the vessel Sea Venture stranded on the Bermudas in July, 1609, found in 1610 "a verie greate treasure in amber-greece, to the valew of nine or tenne thousand pound sterling." He further describes that in 1617 there was sent out "a

[1] Mourt's Relation (ed. H. M. Dexter, 1865), pp. 4, 36.
[2] 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 119.
[3] 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 156.
[4] Hakluyt's Voyages (1904), viii. 10.
[5] Id. viii. 162.
[6] In John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth (ed. C. Burrage, 1918), pp. 5, 11. Cf. Purchas his Pilgrimes (1906), xix. 179, 184.

ship and prouision with men of skill for the killing of whales," a venture which met with small success.

John Winthrop writing in April, 1635, refers to the going across the Bay of Cape Cod of some of the Massachusetts Bay Colony people to make oil from whales cast on shore, of which he says, "There were three or four cast up, as it seems there is almost every year." [1]

Other evidence, the details of which I will not now give, makes it clear that "drift whales" and "stranded whales," as they were called, were of not infrequent happening, and that the questions affecting the title to such whales were early causes of disputes among the colonists. The customs of the colonists in settling these disputes during the first thirty years or so after the landing at Plymouth, finally became statutory and the court records show occasional legal battles by rival claimants for a stranded whale. The General Courts of both the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, as well as the local board of many of the settlements, adopted regulations in respect to the property rights in drift and stranded dead whales. The rules adopted followed English precedents.

In 1652 the town of Yarmouth [2] appointed an officer "to receive the oil of the country" for that town, and the town of Sandwich [3] appointed six men to supervise and regulate the cutting up and distribution of fish and whales. The subsequent records of Sandwich and of the Massachusetts Bay Colony indicate that this oil business from drift and stranded whales must have been of no mean proportions. The Massachusetts Bay Colony allotted one-third of the oil to the crown, one-third to the town, and one-third to the finder.

When the time came that whales were actually pursued in boats, the number of drift whales materially increased by reason of the wounded whales which had eluded capture eventually to die and be cast on the shore, an event which further complicated the question of title and brought new disputes and more regulations.

The General Court at Hartford, Connecticut, in May, 1647, granted certain privileges in respect to whale fishing to a prominent merchant of Hartford; except for this record there appears to have

[1] History of New England (1825), i. 157.
[2] C. F. Swift, History of Old Yarmouth, p. 84.
[3] F. Freeman, History of Cape Cod, ii. 50.

been little attention given in Connecticut to the industry. The greater distance of the Connecticut shores from the open sea would account for this.

Although there is more or less conflicting evidence as to where the first attempt at whale-fishing was organized as a business, it appears probable that the people of Southampton, Long Island, were the first really to adopt the search for whales as a calling for any appreciable part of its townfolk. Detailed and business-like regulations were adopted as early as 1647 and a few years later regular expeditions, often covering several weeks, in boats from the shore took place. The business spread to the neighboring towns, as new settlements were formed, and the eastern end of Long Island became an important factor in the early development of the American whale-fisheries.

The early records of Nantucket give scant mention of whales, and in 1690 the people, "finding that the people of Cape Cod had made greater proficiency in the art of whale-catching than themselves," sent to friends on the Cape for a man to instruct them.[1] The enterprise which Nantucket lacked in the beginning was compensated by the place the island subsequently took, in association with New Bedford, Fairhaven and Martha's Vineyard, in the world whale-fisheries.

It would be tedious to trace the growth of the industry from these small beginnings of the colonists. It is enough to note that from the occasional finding of a stranded whale to the active search for live whales pursued by small boats from the shore, was a natural evolution. The growth of the colonies made inevitable the subsequent step of building and equipping ships fitted for long voyages. Not only had the needs of the people and the opportunities for a profitable export trade increased, but natural causes made it necessary to go further to find an adequate supply of whales.

In 1752, on Nantucket, John Newman and Timothy Coffin built a vessel of seventy-five tons. In Virginia, in 1751, a small boat called the Experiment was fitted out for whaling. It was probably not until several years later that vessels were equipped at Dartmouth and New Bedford, but in 1765 four sloops, the Nancy, Polly,

[1] O. Macy, History of Nantucket (1835), p. 29. The man was Ichabod Paddock.

Greyhound, and Hannah, owned by Joseph Russell, Caleb Russell, and William Tallman, were engaged in the business. The business grew rapidly and in 1768 eighty vessels were sent out from Nantucket alone, a number which by 1775 had increased to one hundred and fifty. A similar, if not quite so rapid, development took place at the other ports: Dartmouth, Boston, Cape Cod, and Rhode Island.

The effect of this business was not alone to furnish employment to those who manned the ships, but spread through the whole community. In many of the towns the chief activities became tributary to the whale-fisheries. The coast towns were busy with the making of rope, casks, blocks, iron-work, the building of and rigging of ships, as well as the many minor industries which contributed to the equipping and provisioning of rapidly growing fleets.

The industry bred a hardy race of men. To the ordinary dangers incidental to the voyaging about either of the great oceans for months in vessels of less than one hundred tons' burthen and engaging in the dangerous business of capturing whales, was added the very real danger of capture by enemy ships. In certain waters French and Spanish privateers were almost as frequently sighted as whales. As early as 1755–1756 the Nantucket owners lost six vessels by their capture by the French. Armed conflicts and occasional losses of ships and lives were ever-present possibilities. The vessel sent out by Messrs. Newman and Coffin in 1752 was, on her second voyage, captured by the French on the Grand Banks, and Captain Coffin lost his life as well as his ship. In 1771 three Dartmouth ships were taken by the Spanish near Hispaniola.

Events of this kind stirred the adventurous spirit of the colonists and insured that the boats would not be manned, save by those ready to meet both the dangers of the sea and of war. The qualities of fortitude and endurance inherited from the early settlers and developed by the exigencies of a pioneer life fitted these strong and alert Yankees for the whaleman's life, just as this life itself bred a race of self-reliant men whose influence has been and is still strong in the making and keeping of New England character.

That these masters and crews did not become ready prey to the Spanish and French privateers and pirates goes without saying. Equally quick in action and in strategy, an encounter was often avoided by the resourcefulness of the Yankee commanders.

A Whaling Scene

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a lithograph owned by Francis Russell Hart

In April, 1771, two Nantucket whaling vessels were at anchor in the roadstead of Abaco. A ship with distress signals flying was sighted off the port and the master of one of the American vessels, with a boat's crew made up from the two ships, rowed out to give help. On climbing to the deck of the distressed ship he was ordered to pilot the vessel into the harbor, a pistol presented to his head enforcing the demand. With the help of one of his crew, more familiar than he with the harbor, and also urged by a loaded pistol, the Nantucket captain took the ship safely in and anchored her in a position where a point of land lay between her and the two Nantucket vessels. Whilst on board the strange ship he noted that the men were practically all armed and that one man appeared to be confined in the cabin. The conclusion was obvious that the crew had either mutinied and imprisoned the proper master in the cabin, or that the vessel was in the hands of pirates. After consultation the American captains invited the man who claimed to be the master of the strange ship to bring his own officers and passengers, if any, and dine on board one of the Nantucket ships. The pirate captain, with his boatswain and the real captain, described as a passenger, came on board. After dinner the pirate captain was seized and bound; the real captain was then free to tell his story. His vessel, he stated, was bound home from the West Indies with a cargo of sugar when the crew, desirous to become pirates, mutinied and took possession of the ship, imprisoning the captain and mate. Under promise of immunity and further urged by the quite unfounded statement that a man-of-war was within a few hours' sail of the port, the boatswain was persuaded to return to his ship and with instructions to release and bring back the mate. Fortunately, at the same time he was told that when the help of the man-of-war had been obtained, a certain signal would be set. The boatswain did not return, as instructed, and one of the Nantucket vessels was got under way and started out as though to pass out of the harbor on one side of the pirates' ship. The mutineers pulled such movable guns as the vessel carried, over to that side of their ship with the intention of sinking the smaller Nantucket ship (actually of the rig then called a sloop) as she passed by. By a quick manœuvre, however, the Nantucket boat passed on the other side of the pirates and out to sea. Within a reasonable time afterwards, and tacking out of sight of the pirate ship, the

Nantucket sloop returned flying the agreed-upon signal that help had been secured from the man-of-war. The boatswain, seeing the signal and believing no escape possible from immediate capture, fled at once to the shore with all on board, save the true mate who was in irons. The mutineers were arrested on shore and the vessel itself was taken by the Nantucket men to New Providence, where a bounty of $2,500 was awarded them.

In 1772 two whaling vessels, also from Nantucket, were taken by a Spanish brig. In 1773 a Boston brig, while taking water on the coast of Sierra Leone, had a boat with six men seized by natives and all the men massacred. In the following year a Tiverton vessel and one from Boston while taking water at Hispaniola were seized by a French frigate. Another incident of about this time, somewhat difficult to believe, but reported in the Boston Post Boy of October 14, 1771, is that of an Edgartown whaling vessel which reported that one of her boats after striking a whale had been bitten in two by the whale and that Marshall Jenkins, one of the crew, had been taken into the mouth of the whale, which had then sunk with him; on returning to the surface, the whale had ejected him onto the wreckage of the broken boat, much bruised but not seriously injured. The Post Boy states that "This account we have from undoubted authority."

The hope, often realized, of large profits and the lure of adventure attracted many stalwart men to this business of getting whales which was, perhaps, in spite of its commercial aspects, the greatest marine sport ever devised and partaking in many ways of the dangers and excitements which surrounded the pursuit of German submarines in the late war.

From 1784 the records of the shipping engaged in the whale-fisheries are nearly complete, but before that date collected official data are fragmentary.

In Massachusetts, in 1774, there were actually 304 vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 28,000 engaged in the business and a total for the colonies of probably 360 vessels. Starbuck estimates that in the four years from 1771 to 1775 the average annual production of oil had reached the relatively impressive figures of 45,000 barrels of sperm oil, 8,500 barrels of right whale oil, and 75,000 tons of bone.

Of all the industries of the colonies, it was not strange that the whale-fisheries should have been the first, or almost the first, to be affected by the growing disaffection of the colonies toward the mother-country. With Massachusetts, the actual centre of the growing insurrection, it was inevitable that a ministry wholly lacking in the capacity to realize and deal with the real issues, should seek to force the rebellious colonists to subjection by any ready means of punishment. Interference with the highly developed whale-fisheries was a means ready at hand. In February, 1775, the ministry, seemingly bent upon magnifying each of its errors by committing a new one, introduced into Parliament a bill restricting the commerce of Massachusetts and its neighboring colonies with England and the West Indies and prohibiting the carrying on of any fishery on any part of the North American coast. The details of the debates on this bill have no proper place in this paper, but it is of interest to note that the merchants and traders of London petitioned against the bill and an active minority in both houses worked zealously against it. The bill gave rise to an eloquent defence of the colonies by Burke. The bill became a law, and even before the 19th of April, 1775, the suspension of the American whale-fisheries had taken place. I will not dwell on the unhappy predicament of the whalemen then afloat, who were obliged when taken by an English man-of-war or privateer either to go on board a man-of-war and fight against their country or ship on board an English whale-ship.

One rather interesting arrangement was made in 1781 between the people of Nantucket and Admiral Digby, then in command of the English fleet in these waters. The situation of the people of Nantucket was serious in the extreme. Their only occupation had been taken from them. With the English fleet in their immediate proximity, even ordinary fishing was so difficult and dangerous that practically the island was without resources. Admiral Digby finally issued permits for twenty vessels to do ordinary fishing and for four to engage in the whale-fisheries. Difficulty was encountered in getting the Massachusetts authorities to ratify these permits, and such approval was only finally obtained just before the signing of the provisional treaty of peace with England.

With peace came the rebirth of the American whale-fisheries and the building and sending out of those great fleets, a few vessels of

which are still afloat, and with the operation of which Dr. Morison's account more particularly deals.

The importance of the whale-fishery was realized by this Commonwealth, which in 1785 granted a bounty on all whale oil brought into Massachusetts ports by vessels owned and manned wholly by inhabitants of the State. This bounty greatly stimulated the business, but caused such a rapid concentration of the trade in Massachusetts that markets were soon over-stocked. It was during this period of over-supply that Mr. William Rotch of Nantucket conceived the idea of transferring a large portion of the Nantucket whaling business bodily to the other side, where the market for the oils was a ready one. Negotiations with the English Government failed, however, as the Government was unwilling to pay the necessary expenses of moving the families and equipment of the ship-owners to that side. Leaving England, Mr. Rotch went to France, and after very brief negotiations arranged for a transfer of the interests of his family and friends to Dunkirk. For several years the business here was successful, but impending troubles between France and England and other causes led Mr. Rotch to return with most of his vessels in 1794 to Nantucket, whence he moved the next year to New Bedford, at which place the industry started by Joseph Russell had already reached respectable proportions. The full story of the relations of the ship-owners and people of Nantucket in respect to English and French whaling is an interesting tale by itself and throws considerable light on many collateral events of the time.

The rapid revival of the American whale-fisheries after the war and the impetus given the trade by an increasing world consumption of both sperm and right whale oils made it necessary each year for the fleets to go farther from their home ports, which in turn brought about the need for larger ships. More and more men were employed to man these vessels, now almost exclusively brigs, barques, or even full-rigged ships, and it became necessary in due course to go farther afield for men.

The War of 1812 again put the whaling business in great jeopardy. The ship-owners of Nantucket, New Bedford and the vicinity had in particular no real belief that actual war would result from the disputes with England and no attempt had been made either to delay the sailing of vessels or to recall those at sea. A large number of

Directions for Arica

In making for Arica you must be taken to make the land well to South'd on account of the currents & the calms that are very frequent in this Bight. The gulph of Camarones is a very conspicuous land to make & about 2 Leagues to the Southward of it, on which account you must not stand in for it, but when within about a League & a Half of it Arica begins to show itself like an Island because the coast beyond is low, within another 2 Leagues of the Head the little Island of Alacran appears & if you are near the coast that is the first object that will be seen but you must not to go in South (southward) of the Head for there is very foul ground, dangerous rocks with the sea out so that between the Island & these rocks there is no passage for any thing larger than a good Sea Boat, you must keep the Head well to the North and steer right in for the anchorage, Alacran bearing S.S.W. 4 miles & the Custom House E.S.E. with in you'll find water good bottom, never the less you must send your boat to sound, for foul ground was never sweet. There is a very fine Mole in Camarones and the best water in the Coast for Watering, and not difficult to be procured.

There is no danger of any winds in this Bay for it seldom blows hard enough to shorten your cable, the prevailing winds are from South to S.W. which sometimes sets in a heavy swell, in such case the best to give a good scope cable (for fear for being (which I have seen the case with 45 fathom Chain out,) and moor Head and Stern as they lay very close to rollers, the bottom is tough ooze.

The poor miserable town of Arica which is the Port for Tacna and near it communication with Upper Peru hardly affords the necessaries of life at present, much less luxuries. Sometimes a little poor Beef or Mutton may be had for 12½ ct. Vegetables are poor except Potatoes and onions which are very cheap, Eggs are scarce sometimes 6 or 7 for 1 but not regular.

Arica Head (or the Moro) bearing N.N.E. 3 Leagues.

From Log-Book of the Natchez, Captain Gamaliel Hart, 4 December, 1825

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original owned by Francis Russell Hart

ships were either captured or destroyed. Nantucket was again in desperate straits when early in 1815 the end of the war brought relief. The rapidity of the resumption of the business appears from the records to have been truly remarkable.

At the beginning of 1812 Nantucket had a fleet of forty-six whaleships of which, at the end of the war, it had but twenty-three left; yet by the end of 1820 its fleet was made up of over seventy-two vessels. Prior to the nineteenth century the average size of the American whaling fleet had been under ninety tons, but in 1820 the average size of the vessels of the Nantucket fleet was 283 tons. The increasing slaughter of whales by those engaged in the fisheries of not only America but England, France, Holland, and the countries to the north, caused the more adventurous to seek new cruising grounds.

The pursuit of the sperm whale, by far the most valuable of the whale family, in particular called the ships farther and farther from home. From the West Indies and Cape Verde the ships went as far south as the Patagonian shores and finally up the Pacific coast of South America.

From 1819 on, the Pacific became a favorite cruising ground, many ships going as far as the coast of Japan. The commanders of these ships were men not only of great daring but also of a high degree of intelligence. A large part of what was then known of the ocean currents was due to the keen perception and accurate reports of these men. Their log-books and those of our merchant ships in the China trade were the chief and almost the only source of knowledge from which reliable information could be obtained by the masters, bound for the first time to ports or waters then unknown to them. A typical example of a descriptive page from a log-book has been reproduced and faces the opposite page. The first knowledge of hundreds of islands in the Pacific Ocean first came from the whalemen, and their contribution to the exploration and discoveries in the far North is too well understood to require eulogy.

To the dangers of navigation in little known or badly charted seas was added the very real danger from conflicts with the natives of the newly discovered or unsettled lands and islands. That many commanders and their men were not always gentle or just in their dealings with these natives is undoubtedly the fact, although through

fair dealings and intelligent barter much lucrative trade was established. Bad treatment of natives by the crew of one ship often brought reprisals on the head of some innocent and well-meaning master who had the misfortune to be the next one to enter with his ship into the disaffected port.

Statistics have no real place in this paper, but it is interesting to note the activity of the whale-fisheries from 1820, when there had been more than full recovery from the War of 1812, to the beginning of the Civil War, as the number of the ships and the ports from which they sailed are a measure of the changes which were taking place in the various communities affected. The figures given represent not the number of ships owned in the places stated, but the number of ships which sailed from the ports named in the year given.

The Nantucket figures include a few ships from Edgartown, and with New Bedford is included those owned in Fairhaven and other towns in the immediate vicinity.

Place	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
New Bedford, etc.	43	80	97	115	96
Nantucket, etc.	47	23	25	15	8
Cape Cod	8	5	23	27	18
New London	3	15	23	19	9
Long Island	8	10	22	9	2
Rhode Island	2	10	24	4	1
Other Conn. & Mass. ports	5	2	20	13	11
New York ports	8	3	1		
	124	148	235	202	145

An inspection of the records of these sailings shows that almost without exception the vessels were commanded by men with American colonial names, the descendants of the earliest settlers and the forebears of a now widely distributed Yankee stock. If one should to-day strike out of any southeastern Massachusetts or Cape Cod telephone directory the names which represent the Portuguese, French-Canadian and Irish invasion of recent years, there would be left a list which would closely resemble the page after page of masters taken from the maritime registers covering the first three-quarters of the last century: Allens, Chases, Coffins, Cooks, Davises, Delanos, Folgers, Husseys, Russells, Snows, Swains, Wings, — the list is too

long to go further. Year by year the crews were more and more diluted with dark-skinned Western Islanders and in due course, as was natural, the better of these men who made good sailors became mates and finally masters, until now a large part of the small business of whaling from the Atlantic sea-ports is done in small vessels by and under command of the American descendants of these Portuguese Islanders.

The Civil War found the whale-fisheries, as had the earlier wars, quite unprepared to deal with the new dangers and problems. Ships were in various oceans, many in the Pacific, and out on long voyages of several years' expected duration. The very distance off gave those in the Pacific a greater degree of protection from rebel privateers at the beginning of the war than had those in the Atlantic. Privateers or letters-of-marque were not difficult to equip for a service involving short voyages, and even converted tug-boats were employed by the Rebels. The records of some of the encounters between whale-ships and these armed privateers are a mixed story of misfortune, gallantry, and occasional inexcusable cruelty.

One incident in the career of the notorious Alabama is suggestive of the German procedure in the late war. One whale-ship, the Ocean Rover of Mattapoisett, having been captured, was at nightfall set on fire; other vessels of the whaling fleet attracted by the reddened sky hurried to her assistance and fell victims to the marauder. Among the ships thus destroyed were the Benjamin Tucker, Osceola, Virginia, and Elisha Dunbar of New Bedford and four others from Cape Cod and Connecticut ports. In June, 1865, the rebel privateer Shenandoah captured and burned in one day five whale-ships in Behring's Straits. On the next day but one, while a portion of the whaling fleet had gone to the assistance of the Brunswick of New Bedford, which was jammed in the ice, the Shenandoah bore down on them and destroyed nine vessels. It was in this engagement that Captain Thomas G. Young of the Fairhaven barque Favorite showed exceptional gallantry and would have made an entirely useless sacrifice of his own life and that of his crew but for the forcible interference of his own men. Captain Ebenezer F. Nye of the Abigail of New Bedford also showed that courage and quickness which we have learned to associate with these old whaling masters. When he saw his ship about to fall into the hands of the Shenandoah, he quietly

slipped away with two fully manned boats, and warned as many as he could of the rest of the fleet. In all the Shenandoah captured some forty vessels, most of which were destroyed. A few of the Pacific fleet escaped by going under the Hawaiian flag, but in both oceans the losses were great. Many were sold to enter other and less hazardous service and forty were bought by the Federal Government and made up the greater portion of the well-known "stone fleets" which were sunk at the entrances of the harbors of Savannah and Charleston to the end that the blockade of these ports might be made effective.

A glance at the faces of the men shown in a photograph of a group of the New Bedford masters of the ships which made up the "stone fleet" makes one realize the quality of the men who in those days carried the name and flag of the United States into all seas.[1]

The troubles of the whalemen did not end with the surrender of Lee and the ending of the war. In the autumn of 1871 thirty-four vessels were crushed in the ice off Point Belcher in the Arctic Ocean. This disaster, and the growing use of petroleum oils, discouraged the further development of the North Pacific whale-fisheries. In 1852 there had been 278 ships in the North Pacific with a reported catch of 373,000 barrels, the largest ever made in these waters in one season. In the three years prior to the Civil War, the number of vessels in the North Pacific was about 170 with an average catch of 100,000 barrels; but in 1876 the number of ships had dropped to eight and the catch to 5,250 barrels. The great days of the whale-fisheries were over; the strong ships and the stronger men who had

[1] A reproduction of this photograph faces this page. Underneath the original is the caption:

CAPTAINS OF THE STONE FLEET
WHICH SAILED FROM NEW BEDFORD, NOV., 16TH, 1861.

Capt. Rudolphus N. Swift (standing) was the general agent of the affair, and Capt. Fred A. Stall and Capt. James B. Wood were the assistant agents. The names of the other captains, and those of their ships (printed in italics), are as follows: Thomas S. Baily, *Maria Theresa;* William A. Beard, *America;* Shubael F. Brayton, *Courier;* Thomas Brown 2nd, *Potomac;* David P. Chadwick, *South America;* John D. Childs, *Cossack;* Michael Cumiski (or Cumiskey), *Frances Henrietta;* Commodore Rodney French, *Garland;* A. H. Gifford, *Herald;* Joseph Howland, *Leonidas;* Martin Malloy, *L. C. Richmond;* Jotham S. Swift (sitting), *Amazon;* W. W. Taylor, *Harvest;* Benjamin W. Tilton, *Kensington;* James M. Willis, *Rebecca Simms;* William Worth, *Archer.*

'Captains of the Stone Fleet, 1861'

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a photograph owned by Francis Russell Hart

manned them became an incident, but an important incident, in the history of New England and the United States.

Whale oil is still an important lubricant and the fisheries will, it is safe to assume, never be wholly abandoned; but the pursuit of the whale by a steam-driven vessel in the North Pacific and the use of whale guns, or the rare and short voyages of sad-looking schooners, manned by Portuguese Western Islanders in the Atlantic, have little in common with the earlier voyages.

A few words in closing as to the influence of the whale-fisheries on discoveries and trade. To the limits of the navigable seas the whale-ships were in general the pioneers. More often than not they were followed, rather than preceded, by properly equipped exploring expeditions. Into fields opened by venturesome whalemen followed the trade of both the North American States and England. But for the Pacific whalers, Australia and New Zealand would have waited years for their development. To the north the whalers were almost the only explorers of the Arctic Ocean and many lives were lost in the search for the North West Passage which would permit egress from the Arctic into either ocean. The whale-ships were, too, the school in which were reared the best and bravest seamen for the navy and merchant ships. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the qualities of courage, resourcefulness and determination learned at sea have given to the descendants of these merchant and whale-ship masters the qualities which have enabled New England to hold its industrial leadership.

Mr. Arthur Lord spoke as follows:

In my introduction to the Plymouth Church Records, some reference is made to the resignation of the Rev. John Cotton as minister of the First Church and his dismissal by the church at his request on October 5, 1697.[1] Some more serious reasons for this action by Mr. Cotton and the church than any differences in dogma or church polity are given by Judge Sewall in his Diary.[2] It is difficult to reconcile the grave charges made by Judge Sewall with the fact that Mr. Cotton remained in Plymouth for a year after his resignation and made up his differences with the Plymouth Church, as his grandson,

[1] Our Publications, vol. xxii. pp. xxxi-xxxii.

[2] Diary, i. 472–473.

John Cotton,[1] states, and then accepted a call to the Church at Charleston, South Carolina, receiving a recommendation from several ministers. Mr. Cotton died at Charleston September 18, 1699, and the Plymouth Church erected a monument to his memory on Burial Hill in Plymouth.

I was interested to find in a recently printed letter from Thomas Coram written from Liverpool, September 23, 1735, to the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman of Boston, an indignant and explicit denial of these charges against Mr. Cotton. Thomas Coram was born in 1667 or 1668 at Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, and died in 1751. He was a shipbuilder in Taunton (Massachusetts) in 1694 and became a merchant in London in 1720. He is remembered now as the founder of the Foundling Hospital in London for "the reception, maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children." His statue stands on the gates leading into the wide-open space in front of the hospital and his portrait, painted by Hogarth in 1740, is preserved in the interesting collection of pictures for the most part presented to the hospital by the artists. Thackeray wrote his Paris Sketch Book at No. 13 Great Coram Street.

That part of Mr. Coram's letter material to this inquiry reads as follows:

I have also a letter from Mr. Josiah Cotton [2] of Providence in New England thanking me for one of the Erasmus Ecclisiasticks (if I spel it right) I had no acquaintance with any of that name in New England I pray to know from you if he be a Desendant from that mr. Cotton a minister in Plymouth Colony and was, I think, an unkle to mr. Cotton Mather son of mr. Increase Mather of North Boston, who was in or about the year 1697 or within a year or two after Charged with attempting to be too Familiar with one of his Church Members Wife for which mr. Stoughton then Lt. Governor Displaced him from his Church w'ch Drove him to Carolina where he Dyed. I happened then to be building ships at Taunton in Plymouth Colony and well understood from those who had no friendship for that mr. Cotton, That all that affair was a Base piece of villainy that the man was no more Guilty of that

[1] Rev. John Cotton (H. C. 1730; *d* 1789), first minister of Halifax, later of Plymouth, a son of Josiah Cotton (H. C. 1698; *d* 1756), who was a son of the Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth.

[2] Rev. Josiah Cotton (H. C. 1722; *d* 1780), son of the Rev. Rowland Cotton (H. C. 1685; *d* 1722), who was a son of the Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth.

Crime Charged on him than you or I was; I happened to speak of it severall Times in Plymouth Colony and in Boston, but at that Time it was looked on a Sort of Blasphemy to Suspect mr. Stoughton could do any thing Wrong beside I did not think fit to give my self much Trouble about it having no manner of Knowledge or acquaintance w'th that Cotton nor with his Nephew Cotton Mather with whome I never to my Knowledge Exchanged a Word with him in my life yet he (after the Example of a Snorting vile Fellow of Bristol County) spoke many fals and Injuring things of me to Cloath me in a Bares Skin which Hallow'd all the Hellhounds in Town and Country on to Wurry me. as I never wanted Resentment so I gave my self no paines about Mr. Cotton Mathers Unkle, and if I had, it would have had no Effect for the Generality of the People were taught to beleive I was a vile fellow an Enemy to Gods People and aboundance of such Kind of Cant and Diabolical practices however I beleive that man Mr. Cotton has as much Injustice done him in that abominable Proceeding against him as those other Innocent men who were Murdered on account of the Pretended Witchcraft and that there is equal Justice due to the Children and Posterity if any, of the one as the other If you or any want further explanation I shall not faile of sending it.[1]

More than two centuries have passed since this incident in the history of the First Church at Plymouth. It has little importance or interest to-day, but it seems to me desirable in order to complete the record that some reference to this letter from Mr. Coram, which is persuasive if not conclusive as to the injustice of the charges by Sewall against Mr. Cotton, should be noted in the Transactions of this Society which has published the records of the church of which Mr. Cotton was a minister and which contains some reference to this incident in Mr. Cotton's life.

Mr. William O. Sawtelle, a Corresponding Member, exhibited several articles from his Islesford Collection relating to the Island of Mount Desert. The object of that collection he declared to be "A memorial to the pioneers of Mount Desert; a repository wherein may be lodged material of historical, genealogical, and antiquarian interest relating to the exploration, settlement,

[1] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lvi. 30–31.

and development of the ancient territory of Sagadahoc, now Eastern Maine; an organized movement to rescue and to hold the vanishing evidence pertaining to the history of the town of Mount Desert and the areas included within that town by act of incorporation, 1789; and to provide for the perpetual care of any and all such material now in said repository or that may be acquired in the future."

He then described the collection in detail:

From nothing in 1919, to proportions quite extensive, the Islesford Collection has now expanded until the entire lower floor of the building occupied has become very crowded and much of interest cannot be properly shown.

Though the primary purpose is to emphasize as far as possible everything relating to the history of the Mount Desert region, sight has not been lost of those who were active in the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the North American Continent; and old prints, many of them Houbrakens, of Drake, Ralegh, Henry Prince of Wales, patron of the Virginia Company, a complete set of the English sovereigns from Elizabeth to George III, portraits of Henry IV, Marie de Médicis, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, together with numerous original documents, autographed by some of these different rulers, here find place in the Colonial Room.

Among the most interesting of the original deeds of the Mount Desert region, all discovered tucked away in lofts and old chests, are two Cadillac-de Gregoire deeds, signed by Marie Thérèse de la Mothe Cadillac, one to Benjamin Spurling for one hundred acres of land on Great Cranberry, the other to John Stanley for the same amount on Little Cranberry Isle; the original deed from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Daniel Gott for Little Placentia, now Gott's Island, of date 1789, the earliest deed that has so far been found; also a Gott deed from John Quincy Adams and Ward Nicholas Boylston, signed by their agent, Salem Towne. The Cadillac-de Gregoire deeds were executed before Paul Dudley Sargent, son of Epes Sargent of Gloucester.

In the Mount Desert Room are many maps of the region — originals, in facsimile, and in photostat; the Sargent Collection,

grouped about a large oil painting of Sargent's Mountain, named for Stephen Sargent of Gloucester, a Mount Desert pioneer, containing much relating to Paul Dudley Sargent, photostats of his commissions, portraits of members of his family and of his Gloucester relatives; and the William Bingham Collection, containing copies of family portraits and material relating to his extensive eastern Maine purchase, with portraits of his son-in-law, Lord Ashburton, and his land agents, General David Cobb and Colonel John Black.

The Mount Desert Room also contains many photostats of surveys of the region, the most interesting of which are complete copies of the field notes of Sir Francis Bernard's two surveyors, John Jones and Barachias Mason, who ran their Mount Desert lines in 1763–1765. These particular surveys served as the basis of the map of the Mount Desert region published in the coast charts of the British Admiralty in 1776.[1] Among the original autographs in this room are those of Bernard, Hutchinson, members of the Governor's Council, selectmen of Boston, 1760, which includes signatures of several gentlemen who had to do with Bernard's Grant of Mount Desert.

The Sir Francis Bernard Collection consists mainly of portraits of himself: the Club of Odd Volumes portrait, engraved by Wilcox, the first publication of the Club, also a copy of the edition that was offered for sale; the Colonial Society's portrait, three copies, artist's proof, one illustrating Mr. Albert Matthews's Portraits of Sir Francis Bernard, a recent publication of the Club of Odd Volumes, and the portrait appearing in the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.[2] A photograph of the family portrait of Sir John Bernard, son of Sir Francis, has recently been received with the compliments of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Tyringham Higgins Bernard, who at present occupies the old house, Nether Winchendon Priory, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, to which Sir Francis retired after being driven from Boston.[3]

Of the contents of the two rooms devoted to the Cranberry Isles, no real description can be given; for here is shown material in which may be read the history of the five pioneer families — Bunker,

[1] See our Publications, xxiv. 200.

[2] Id. xxiv. 250.

[3] Lieut.-Col. Bernard is a son of the late Mrs. Napier Higgins, who published a work on the Bernards of Abington and Nether Winchendon in 1903–1904.

Gilley, Hadlock, Spurling and Stanley, to the hearty coöperation and active interest of whose descendants the Islesford Collection owes its existence.

Mr. Sawtelle concluded his informal talk by announcing the discovery of an important document for which officials of libraries and historical societies in Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Washington and elsewhere, including Georges Bertin, who came over from France about 1895, had been searching for many years. This was the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania and to the United States taken May 19, 1794, before Matthew Clarkson, Mayor of Philadelphia, by Charles Maurice, Prince de Talleyrand-Perigord. It seems probable that the original was signed in duplicate — one copy for the authorities of Pennsylvania, the other for those of the United States. At all events, a copy with Talleyrand's autograph has just been found by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle in the Pickering Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1794 Timothy Pickering was Postmaster General and in 1795 became Secretary of State, which position he held until 1800. Presumably it was in his official capacity that he acquired the document in question, which reads as follows:

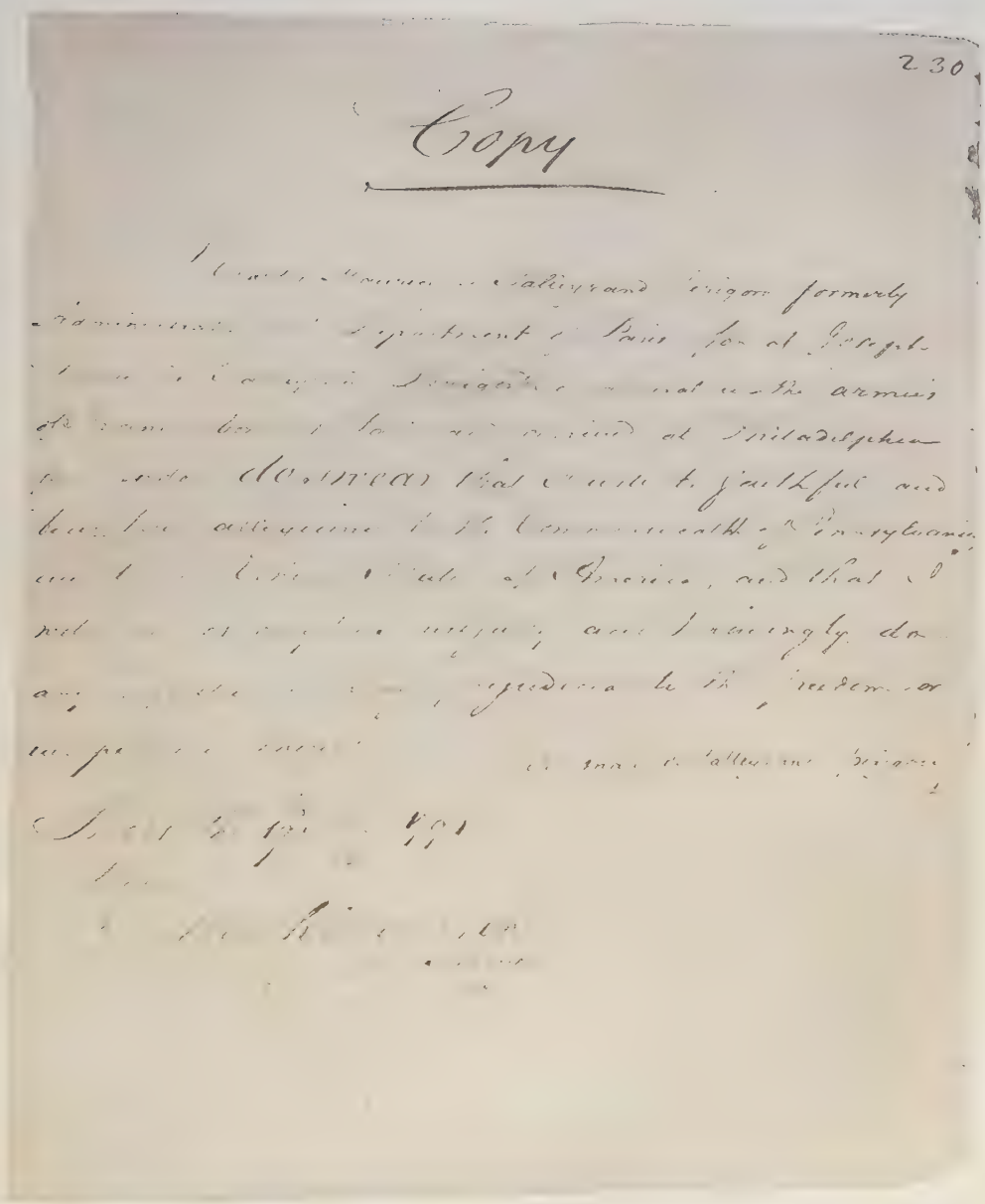
I Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord formerly Administrator of the Department of Paris, son of Joseph Daniel de Talleyrand Perigord a general in the armies of France, born at Paris and arrived at Philadelphia from London DO SWEAR that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and to the United States of America, and that I will not at any time wilfully and knowingly do any matter or thing prejudicial to the freedom or independance thereof

CH MAU DE TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD

Sworn the 19th May 1794
Before
MATTH CLARKSON
Mayor [1]

[1] Pickering Papers, liii. 230. Cf. 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 489. At the top of the document is the word "Copy," but in a different hand and in a later ink.

Copy



Talleyrand's Oath of Allegiance 19th May 1794

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society

Mr. George P. Winship exhibited the first record book kept by the clerk of "The New England Company," otherwise "The Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England," with entries dated from 1656 to 1686,[1] and spoke as follows in regard to the relation between this Company and the missionary work of John Eliot the Apostle:

On March 17, 1660, the clerk recorded that the members present at a meeting approved of a proposal to print a manuscript sent over for this purpose by Eliot, "And that 1500 bee printed by Mrs. Symones, or such others as shall print the said bookes cheaper, and that the same bee referrd to Col. Puckle to take care heerof." A week later Colonel Puckle reported that "hee hath agreed with Mr. Maycoke a printer to print ye Indianes Confessions at a farthinge per sheet, and that hee hath bought 20 reames of Paper at 3s 10d per reame."

Fortunately, the Treasurer's ledger, containing the accounts of the Company for the decade from 1650 to 1660, is still in existence, and makes it possible to state what this pamphlet, the next to the last of the series of "Eliot Indian Tracts," actually cost, and also to draw some inferences as to the success of Colonel Puckle's effort to reduce the cost of printing. These accounts show that the tract of 1655, "A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. . . . London; Printed by M. S. 1655," cost £12.14.00 for printing and paper; and £7.12.00 for sewing and covering in "blew & Marble paper." As 3000 copies were printed of this 32 page pamphlet, the cost per copy was about a penny apiece for printing and paper, or very nearly a farthing a sheet, and rather more than a half-pence each for binding.

The 1659 tract, "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians, . . . declaring a purpose of Printing the Scripture in the Indian Tongue . . . London, Printed by M. Simmons for the Corporation of New-England, 1659," cost £24, Mrs. Simmons providing the binding as well as paper and printing. This amounts to nearly two pence each for the 3000 copies. As this tract consisted of 48 pages, the proportional cost figures out at considerably less than that of its immediate predecessor.

[1] The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot (Prince Society, 1920).

In 1660, Colonel Puckle bought the paper and paid for the binding, leaving only the type-setting and press-work to the printer. Macock was paid £8.12.06 for 1500 copies of the 88 page "A further Account of the progress of the Gospel . . . being A Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians. Sent over to the Corporation . . . by Mr. John Elliot. London, Printed by John Macock. 1660." This makes 8280 farthings, and the 1500 copies called for 16,500 sheets, so that Macock received just half what he should have been paid according to the entry of Colonel Puckle's agreement with him. An analysis of the prices paid in 1655 and 1659 shows that half a farthing a sheet would have been approximately what Mrs. Simmons received for this part of the work; and the probability is that the clerk made a mistake in his entry.

Thirty-five reams of paper were purchased for £6.14.02. This was two reams more than the 1500 copies called for, but some of this extra paper would have necessarily been used in the normal wastage and over-run of the presses. Whatever was left became a part of the perquisites of the printer.

The binding cost £4.05.00, but as the blue paper wrappers were omitted, undoubtedly as part of the cheapening process, this figure cannot be compared with that of 1655, with any satisfactory result.

A comparison of Macock's pamphlet with the two printed by Mrs. Simmons shows that he reduced the number of words on each page, by wider spacing, so that he made the manuscript fill nearly an extra sheet. He also spread out the headings and took advantage of opportunities to leave blank spaces at the foot of pages, so that he was able to charge for at least another half sheet. He also omitted side notes and in other ways kept his costs down wherever possible. Taking all these factors into account, the actual cost of this 1660 tract to the Society was apparently about fifteen percent more than it would have been if Colonel Puckle had not undertaken to get it done more cheaply.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. WILLIAM DAVIS PATTERSON and Mr. KENNETH CHARLES MORTON SILLS, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Dr. CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS and Messrs. HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM and FRANCIS TIFFANY BOWLES.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, — Messrs. HAROLD MURDOCK and FRANK BREWER BEMIS.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1924

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Friday, 21 November, 1924, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death of ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER, a Corresponding Member, at Boston on June 15th; of WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM, a Resident Member, at Cotuit on July 26th; and of HENRY CABOT LODGE, a Resident Member, at Cambridge on November 9th.

The Annual Report of the Council, written by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES E. PARK, follows:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The year has been unmarked by any departure from our usual customs and activities. The Society has held five stated meetings. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences continues to be our kind hosts. The Council wishes to remind the Society of their exceeding good fortune in being permitted to enjoy a place of meeting so admirably adapted to our purposes. The quiet, spacious room, the comfortable chairs (which are possibly open to the objection of being too comfortable), the accessible location, together with the unfailing interest and value of the papers presented, all combine to convince the Council that the reason these meetings are not better attended must be sought elsewhere.

The April meeting was held, by invitation of Mr. William C. Endicott, at his home, 163 Marlborough Street, and was a memorable occasion for its hospitality and enjoyment.

With the resignation of Mr. Henry Winchester Cunningham as Recording Secretary, the Society has lost the invaluable services of a scribe who for thirty-one years had kept our records with a faithfulness and precision that will prove a model of secretarial efficiency to his successor. Mr. Cunningham later accepted a similar office with our deadly rivals and dearest friends, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Council assures him of their deep gratitude for the past and best wishes for the future.

Since the last Annual Meeting three volumes have been published: Volume XXIII (Part II of the Plymouth Church Records), Volume XXIV (Transactions, 1920–1922), and Volume XXV (Transactions, 1922–1924). Volume XXVI, the current volume of Transactions, has advanced to page 87. The text of Volumes XV and XVI (Harvard College Records) is in type, part of the preliminary matter is at the printers, and the volumes ought to be completed in 1925. Work on the Index to Volumes I–XXV is being steadily carried on.

Elections to membership during the year have been as follows:
Resident Members:

Charles Lewis Slattery,
Frank Brewer Bemis,
Frederic Winthrop,
Benjamin Loring Young,
Edward Motley Pickman,
Edward Waldo Forbes,
Alfred Marston Tozzer;

Corresponding Members:

William Otis Sawtelle,
William Keeney Bixby,
William Davis Patterson,
Kenneth Charles Morton Sills.

Four of our members have been lost by death.

Charles Francis Jenney: Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth. His success in his profession was the result not only of his learning but also of his wide experience and broad contact with human nature. He was one of those men

who never cease learning, and was therefore a helpful and inspiring influence to others. His ability to serve the Commonwealth was equalled by his willingness, and both were of a very high order. He was a great lover of birds and flowers; a student and writer of local history. His aim was to live worthily, and help others to make a creditable use of their abilities.

Robert Hallowell Gardiner: A prominent lawyer as well as a director or trustee in many business enterprises of the highest standing. Neither profession nor business, however, was able to exhaust his interest, a generous portion of which he bestowed upon his church and organized Christianity in general. His religion was of the sincere, deep-rooted kind that enabled him to form bonds of warmest sympathy with other Christian men of whatever name or affiliation, and his dearest wish was to help in bringing all such into a closer fellowship of mutual understanding, esteem, and coöperation. Among his many offices, that in which he took a peculiar pride was Secretary of the World Conference on Faith and Order.

William Lowell Putnam: He represented a type of manhood on which great nations are founded, and from which noble civilizations are formed: the type that does not squander the advantages of a good start, and does not disappoint expectations, but sustains family tradition, and labors and prospers and serves and becomes the solid responsible element in the community. But he was not merely the sample of a type: he was a kindly, warm-hearted personality, likable and friendly, full of clean energy, fond of outdoors, simple in tastes and habits, high-minded in all his motives and responses.

Henry Cabot Lodge: Man of letters. Student, teacher, and writer of history — public servant. For thirty-one years, Senator from Massachusetts in the National Congress. Learned, cultured, refined; under the factitious dignity of place was the real self-consciousness of birth, breeding, and achievement. For many years the foremost figure in the Senate, he lent to that body an atmosphere of old-fashioned intellectual refinement that will be sorely missed. He wrote his character into his public record, which stands as his most truthful biography.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 16, 1924.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, November 16, 1923, Principal Cash	$5,293.43	
Less Income cash overspent	52.68	$5,240.75
Receipts of Principal:		
Mortgages, discharged	$9,200.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop Fund	2,000.00	
Henry H. Edes Bequest, Warren Institution for Savings	1,816.81	
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings account	82.64	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, Principal	118.55	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, Income added to Principal	210.49	
Subscriptions to Editor's Salary Fund	800.00	
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account	1.19	
Commutations from three members	300.00	
Contributions	10.00	
Admission Fees	70.00	
Income transferred to Principal	120.00	
Total receipts of Principal		14,729.68
Receipts of Income:		
Interest	$7,220.10	
Annual Assessments	610.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	447.30	
New England Society in the City of New York, for 512 copies of the Plymouth Church Records	1,536.00	
Contributions to defray portion of cost of publications	80.00	
Sale of paper	22.40	
Total receipts of Income		9,915.80
Total		$29,886.23

DISBURSEMENTS

Disbursements of Principal:		
$9,000 New River Company 5% Bonds, due 1934	$8,347.50	
Mortgage purchased	8,000.00	
Editor's salary, paid from Salary Fund	1,000.00	
Henry H. Edes Bequest, represented by Warren Institution for Savings account	1,816.81	
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings account, added to Principal	82.64	
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account, added to Principal	1.19	
Total disbursements of Principal		$19,248.14

Disbursements of Income:		
University Press	$6,395.06	
A. W. Elson & Company	489.21	
Folsom Engraving Company	11.75	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	61.25	
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	20.00	
Stewart, Watts & Bollong, auditing services	250.00	
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, lights, and janitor service	29.00	
State Street Trust Company, interest on loan	195.83	
Interest accrued on bonds purchased	163.75	
Annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00	
Annual dinner	422.25	
Clerk hire	160.00	
Thomas S. Longridge, insurance	244.75	
Mary A. Tenney, Index to Volume 25	125.00	
Nina E. Browne, Consolidated Index	200.00	
Miscellaneous	69.20	
Interest on Horace E. Ware Fund added to Principal	210.49	
Amount of income transferred to Principal	120.00	9,217.54
Total Disbursements of Income		$28,465.68
Balance, November 16, 1924, Principal cash	$774.97	
Income cash	645.58	1,420.55
Total		$29,886.23

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$27,550.00	in first mortgages payable in gold coin on improved property in Greater Boston
94,240.00	in bonds elsewhere described in this report having a face value of $104,000
28.17	on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
1,899.45	on deposit in the Warren Institution for Savings
$123,717.62	

The investments of the Society yield an average annual income of approximately 6.06%.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of November 16. 1924, is hereto annexed and made a part of this report.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT
Treasurer

BOSTON, 16 November, 1924

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash, Principal	$774.97	
Income	645.58	$1,420.55
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund		3,081.53
Provident Institution for Savings		28.17
Warren Institution for Savings		1,899.45
Mortgages		27,550.00
Bonds:		
$20,000 Western Telephone & Telegraph Company, Collateral Trust 5's, due 1932	$16,960.00	
5,000 Union Pacific Railroad, Equipment Trust 7's, due 1932	5,000.00	
5,000 Wickwire-Spencer Steel Corporation, First Mortgage Sinking Fund 7's, due 1935	5,000.00	
5,000 Detroit Edison Company, First Mortgage Refunding 5's, Series A, due 1940	4,397.50	
5,000 Detroit Edison Company, First Mortgage Refunding 6's, due 1940	4,400.00	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding 5's, due 1940	3,762.50	
5,000 United Electric Securities Corporation, Collateral Trust Sinking Fund 5's, due 1935–1942	3,750.00	
5,000 Northwestern Bell Telephone Company, First Mortgage 7's, Series A, due 1941	4,862.50	
5,000 Philadelphia Company, First Refunding and Collateral Trust, Mortgage 6's, Series A, due 1944	4,350.00	
5,000 Pennsylvania Railroad, Equipment Trust 6's, due 1935	5,000.00	
5,000 Cedars Rapids Manufacturing & Power Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund 5's, due 1953	4,450.00	
5,000 New York Edison Company, First Mortgage 6½'s Refunding, Series A, due 1941	5,000.00	
5,000 Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie, First Mortgage Refunding 6's, Series A, due 1946	5,000.00	
5,000 Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, First Mortgage Refunding 4's, Series A, due 1961	4,105.00	
5,000 New England Telephone & Telegraph Company, First Mortgage 5's, Series A, due 1952	4,875.00	

5,000	Cleveland Union Terminal Company, First Sinking Fund 5½'s, Series A, due 1972	$4,980.00	
9,000	New River Company, First Mortgage 5's, due 1934	8,347.50	94,240.00
$104,000			$128,219.70

CREDITS

State Street Trust Company, loan			$4,000.00
Income			645.58
Editor's Salary Fund		$600.00	
Publication Fund		10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund		10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund		20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund		10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund		5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund		5,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund		2,000.00	
William Watson Fund		1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund		3,777.22	
General Fund		21,215.92	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund		30,000.00	
Henry Herbert Edes Bequest		1,899.45	
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund			
Subscribed	$3,831.53		
Paid First Church	750.00	3,081.53	123,574.12
			$128,219.70

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1922, have attended to their duty and report, that they find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Public Accountants & Auditors.

HAROLD MURDOCK
FRANK B. BEMIS
Committee

BOSTON, 21 November, 1924

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Dr. CHARLES L. NICHOLS

presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
GEORGE FOOT MOORE

RECORDING SECRETARY
ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

REGISTRAR
ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
FREDERIC WINTHROP

Mr. Harold Murdock read the following paper:

NOTES ON BUNKER HILL — THE MYTH OF THE ROYAL WELCH FUSILEERS

In the Boston News Letter of August 11, 1774, you will find the following item: "Sunday last, arrived in this Harbour, the Transports from New-York, having on board his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Welch Fuzileers, under the command of Colonel Barnard [1] (one of the six renowned British Corps, to whose Valor and Intrepidity, the ever memorable Victory at Mendin was gloriously acquired the 1st of August, 1759)." [2] In this verbiage we find an echo of the enthusiasm which inspired Boston in the glorious year of "59," when that victory gained upon a far-away Westphalian battle-field was regarded as an occasion for thankfulness and jubilation in the King's most loyal Province of Massachusetts Bay.

[1] Lt.-Col. Benjamin Bernard.
[2] P. 2/2.

Only fifteen years had passed and now the colors of the Fusileers that had waved so proudly at Minden appeared in the narrow streets of Boston, to be regarded as symbols of oppression and tyranny. Such words as we have quoted from the Boston newspaper must be regarded as the dying expression of a proud and happy memory. The famous Minden regiment, while admittedly the most distinguished corps in the Boston garrison, became by virtue of that preëminence the most conspicuous threat to the cause of American liberty. Elbridge Gerry deplored the moral effect upon his countrymen of such a "sounding name" as Welch Fusileers.

The regiment took the field on the day of Lexington with 282 rank and file, but their presence in the action occasioned no special comment. When, however, after Bunker Hill, it was realized what heavy losses had been inflicted upon the troops, a wave of curiosity swept the American camp as to the fate of that famous corps which had proved its mettle against the much vaunted infantry of France. This interest appears upon every hand, and I shall read a few comments made directly after the battle, that are typical of much else that appeared.

On June 23, 1775, William Tudor wrote as follows to Stephen Collins, the comment being an after-thought written in the margin of his letter up and down the sheet: "The Reg't of Royal Welch Fusileers, who were in the Battle of Minden last War, & who piqu'd themselves on their Bravery are ruin'd. It is said the greatest Part of the Privates fell & every Capt. except one. It was in a great measure owing to this Reg't that they were able to carry the Hill." [1]

There is a letter "from a Gentleman in the army," dated June 27, which carries us into the realm of statistics: "The *Royal Welsh Fusileers* have but seventy privates and one Captain left alive." [2]

On the day following, June 28, General Nathanael Greene wrote as follows: "the *Welch Fusileers,* the finest Regiment in the *English* establishment, is ruined; there are but one Captain and eleven privates left in the Regiment." [3]

It was on June 30 that President Stiles had his interview with that extraordinary witness, the Rev. John Martin. "All the Welch

[1] Historical Magazine, June, 1868, p. 377.
[2] Force, American Archives, 4th Series, ii. 1118–1119.
[3] Id. ii. 1126.

were slain but *six* men," declares Martin, and adds, "One Connect. man killed above twenty of the Welch fusileers." [1]

On July 1, the following appeared in the Providence Gazette and Country Journal and I think in other New England papers: "The Welch Fuzileers were nearly all cut off; only one Captain and 17 Privates it is said remained of that Regiment."

In a "letter from the Camp at Cambridge" dated July 3, we find the following: "The Welch fusileers, the best regiment in the English army, carried from the field no more than 17 privates and one captain." And then this correspondent gives us new matter for reflection — "It is also certain," he says, "they lost 34 officers." [2] The mental processes of this man are clear. With his one captain in hand, he estimated the probable number of officers in the regiment and consigned the balance to the casualty list.

These extracts illustrate the contemporaneous variants of the story. Here is a mass of contemporaneous testimony as to a certain fact, and it still lies in wait to entrap hurried and conscientious students who appreciate the superior value of original sources.

Then came that sudden decline of interest in the details of Bunker Hill. Anniversary celebrations were omitted. No one cared to contend for the dubious honor of commanding in that rash and ill-conducted affair. Jealousy and bitterness were rife and allusions to the battle were almost certain to engender recriminations detrimental to the good of the cause.

Forty-three years had passed when in 1818 General Dearborn burst upon the world with his hazy memories of the battle and his epoch-making assault upon the courage and military behavior of Putnam. Dim recollections of the Fusileers lingered in his mind. "They came into action," he says, "five hundred strong; and all were killed and wounded but eighty-three." Where Dearborn found these figures or how he could have dreamed in such quantities is, I think, an unsolved mystery, but they proved an inspiration to another New Hampshire man. If you turn to the Memoirs of General John Stark by Caleb Stark, published in Concord, New Hampshire, 1860, you find the following: "The Regiment opposed to the New-Hampshire line was the Welch Fusileers, which had been distinguished at the Battle of

[1] E. Stiles, Literary Diary, i. 580, 581.

[2] Historical Magazine, June, 1868, p. 384.

Minden, and was considered the finest light infantry regiment in the British army." They "came into the field more than 700 strong, and mustered but 83 on parade next morning." [1] Dearborn was doubtless Stark's authority, but you will note that this new writer takes the liberty of recruiting the regiment from a strength of five hundred to more than seven hundred men. As final evidence that "the evil that men do lives after them," it was only last year that an honored member of a New England historical society in addressing his fellows on the services of New Hampshire at Bunker Hill restated this episode, for the contamination of history. He maintained the regiment on Stark's establishment of seven hundred men, but was content that the survivors should remain at Dearborn's figure of 83.

So much for the legend of the Fusileers at Bunker Hill; and now for the facts. In the first place, neither Colonel Bernard nor his regiment were in the battle. This is no startling heresy. Mr. Swett doubted it as far back as 1826,[2] and Mr. Frothingham saw and asserted the truth in 1875.[3] All through that hot battle afternoon the men of the regiment, some 250 in number, were lounging in their camp on Fort Hill, while the flames from Charlestown swirled high above the steepled sky line of the North End and the air throbbed to the grim music of the guns.

It is true that the two flank companies of the regiment, in common with those of every other regiment in Boston, had been incorporated in the corps of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, and so were in the action. These two companies represented a strength of sixty or possibly sixty-five men and were officered by two captains and four subalterns. Captain Blakeney and three of these subalterns were wounded, and 46 of the privates appeared on the casualty list.[4] These are the British official figures, but they were disregarded in

[1] Pp. 29, 30.

[2] "From his [Page's] and De Bernier's maps, Mr. Stow, the list of regiments to which the killed belonged, and all authorities, it seems certain that the regiment of Welsh Fusileers was not in the battle" (History of Bunker Hill Battle, 2nd ed., 1826, p. 31).

[3] "Hence several of the regiments — among them the 23d, or Welsh Fusileers — had only their Grenadiers, or Light Infantry Companies, in the battle" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiv. 61).

[4] For a detailed account of troops engaged, see my paper on "The American Defence," pp. 130–132, below.

the days when everyone was enthusiastically determined to believe in the extinction of the regiment. There are amusing points of similarity between the guesses and the facts. For instance, the legend has it that the regiment carried but one captain from the field. This is so, for certainly Blakeney was the only captain to be carried or assisted to the rear. Two accounts have it that only seventeen privates were left. If we deduct the casualties of forty-six from a force of sixty or sixty-five, it makes a creditable conjecture. And yet it was all conjecture of the wildest sort, accompanied by the delusion that the famous Minden regiment had suffered annihilation in the field.

While interest in the fate of the Fusileers was for obvious reasons a matter of widespread interest after Bunker Hill, I think there is a more solid basis than this for the origin of the tale. Howe's first attack on the 17th of June was delivered by eleven companies of Light Infantry belonging to as many regiments. They moved forward in a long lance-like column on a narrow front, as is plainly shown on the map of Lieutenant de Berniere, a well-accepted authority on the battle. On this plan every company is indicated by its regimental number, and we find that to the Fusileers was accorded the honor of leading the advance. Is it not a fair assumption that the Americans, familiar with the uniform and distinctive insignia of the corps, jumped naturally at the conclusion that the whole long column were of the Fusileers? When the assault was thrown back they might well have inferred that they had worsted the regiment, and the story passing rapidly from mouth to mouth accumulated the weird statistics and unwarranted elaborations of the sort which gossip provides.

We laugh at many British estimates of the strength of the Provincial forces at Bunker Hill, estimates based upon a knowledge of Ward's strength at Cambridge and the assumption that his men were all engaged. We may laugh as well at this legend of the Fusileers with its strange and amusing variants, but, as I have said, I think we may ascribe its birth to the uniform of a few file leaders in a Light Infantry attack.

Of course this legend will persist. It is one of the thrilling stories of Bunker Hill, as solidly entrenched as Mr. Longfellow's version of the midnight ride of Paul Revere. A modest essay like this into

the realm of truth cannot prevail against such a time-honored tradition, but at least it furnishes healthful moral exercise for the writer. Perhaps in the coming days of centennial enthusiasm the old regiment may bleed anew upon the rostrum to stimulate our love of country. It may be that we shall be privileged to read as well as to hear how a handful of our ancestors in homespun overcame and slew those haughty heroes of Minden, the Royal Regiment of Welch Fusileers.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. Willard Learoyd Sperry, and Messrs. Charles Knowles Bolton, Arthur Howland Buffinton, Charles Burton Gulick, Charles Howard McIlwain, Nathan Matthews, and Grenville Howland Norcross. The PRESIDENT presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1924

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 18, 1924, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

Mr. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER of Madison, Wisconsin, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT announced his appointment of Messrs. ARCHIBALD C. COOLIDGE and ROGER B. MERRIMAN as delegates from this Society to the annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in Richmond, Virginia, this month in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

The PRESIDENT stated that the Council had requested the Editor to print in the Transactions portions of his final report to that body.

EDITOR'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 3, 1924

Elected to the Society in April, 1896, the first meeting I attended was the annual meeting in that year, when I was introduced to Mr. Edes and Mr. Davis. In course of time the latter and I became excellent friends; but from the very beginning Mr. Edes and I were strongly attracted to each other, and our acquaintance soon ripened into a deep friendship. He used to expound to me his hopes and ambitions for the Society, and soon he asked me to help him in the actual editorial work. In December, 1899, no doubt at his suggestion, President Wheelwright appointed me to the Committee of

Publication. In November, 1901, I was elected a member of the Council for three years. Hence my service of twenty-three years on the Council has exceeded that of any other member except Mr. Edes and Mr. Cunningham, with thirty and a little over thirty-one years respectively.

In those days, as the Society had no official Editor of Publications, the work of editing was done by the chairman of the Committee of Publication. As such Mr. Davis edited and saw through the press Volume I, but on the publication of that volume in 1896 resigned as chairman and was succeeded by Mr. Noble, who retained the chairmanship until his death in 1909. Since then, the chairmanship of the Committee has always been held by the President of the Society for the time being.

But, though Mr. Noble was chairman of the Committee during the years 1896–1904, he was too busy a man to do any actual editing, and so that naturally fell into the hands of Mr. Edes, who, oddly enough, was not even a member of the Committee during those years — for, though he had been a member of the original Committee appointed in 1893, he resigned almost at once and did not again become a member until 1901. He edited and saw through the press Volumes III, V, and VI.

In the twelve years from 1892 to 1904, four volumes were published, as follows:

VOLUME	CONTENTS	MEETINGS INCLUDED	DATE ON TITLE-PAGE	DATE OF DISTRIBUTION
I	Transactions	Dec. 1892–1894 Dec.	1895	1896 Nov.
III	Transactions	Jan. 1895–1897 April	1900	1900 March
V	Transactions	Nov. 1897–1898 Dec.	1902	1902 Dec.
VI	Transactions	Jan. 1899–1900 March	1904	1904 Nov.

It will be observed that between the last meeting in each volume and the distribution of that volume there was a lapse of 23 months in Volume I, of 35 months in Volume III, of 48 months in Volume V, and of 56 months in Volume VI. All members were uneasy at the ever increasing delay, and especially those members who wrote papers or contributed material, as it was discouraging not to see the result of their labors in print until years after their communications had been made. The cause of the trouble lay in the fact that neither Mr. Edes nor any other busy man could spare the time from his

vocation to do the necessary work; and it was felt that the only solution of the difficulty was for the Society to have a paid Editor of Publications. With his usual energy and enthusiasm, Mr. Edes set to work and obtained pledges for the salary from generous members; the necessary alterations in the Society's By-Laws were made at the annual meeting in November, 1904; at the Council meeting the following month I had the honor of being elected Editor; and in January, 1905, I took charge of the Publications.

In the twenty years that have since elapsed, 1905–1924, nineteen volumes have been published, as follows:

VOLUME	CONTENTS	MEETINGS INCLUDED	DATE ON TITLE-PAGE	DATE OF DISTRIBUTION
II	Collections [1]		1913	1913 March
IV	Collections [2]		1910	1910 May
VII	Transactions	April 1900–1902 April	1905	1905 Nov.
VIII	Transactions	Nov. 1902–1904 Nov.	1906	1906 Oct.
IX	Collections [3]		1907	1907 Nov.
X	Transactions	Dec. 1904–1906 Nov.	1907	1908 May
XI	Transactions	Dec. 1906–1907 Dec.	1910	1910 May
XII	Transactions	Jan. 1908–1909 Dec.	1911	1911 April
XIII	Transactions	Jan. 1910–1911 March	1912	1912 Jan.
XIV	Transactions	April 1911–1913 Feb.	1913	1913 Nov.
XVII	Transactions	March 1913–1914 Dec.	1915	1916 Jan.
XVIII	Transactions	Jan. 1915–1916 April	1917	1917 June
XIX	Transactions	Nov. 1916–1917 Nov.	1918	1919 April
XX	Transactions	Dec. 1917–1919 Feb.	1920	1920 Oct.
XXI	Transactions	March 1919–1919 Dec.	1920	1920 Dec.
XXII	Collections [4]		1920	1921 Jan.
XXIII	Collections [5]		1923	1923 Dec.
XXIV	Transactions	Jan. 1920–1922 Jan.	1923	1924 Feb.
XXV	Transactions	Feb. 1922–1924 Feb.	1924	1924 Oct.

In addition, Volume XXVI (Transactions) has advanced to page 87; and the text of Volumes XV–XVI (Harvard College Records) has been set and cast.

Of the twenty-three volumes thus far published, eighteen (I, III,

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[1] Massachusetts Royal Commissions, 1681–1774.

[2] Land-Bank and Silver-Bank Papers; Bibliography of the Massachusetts House Journals, 1715–1776; Bibliography of the Massachusetts Laws, 1641–1776.

[3] Check-List of Boston Newspapers, 1704–1780.

[4] Plymouth Church Records, 1620–1859, Part i.

[5] Plymouth Church Records, 1620–1859, Part ii.

V–VIII, X–XIV, XVII–XXI, XXIV, XXV) are Transactions, and five (II, IV, IX, XXII, XXIII) are Collections. Various volumes of Collections have been projected, some before and some after I became Editor. Of the latter, all have been published — Volume IX (Check-List of Boston Newspapers, 1704–1780) in 1907, and Volumes XXII–XXIII (Plymouth Church Records) in 1921 and 1923. Of Volume IV (Calendars, Bibliographies, etc.), containing 518 pages, pp. 1–82, 201–289 (171 pages in all) were edited by Mr. Edes, the remaining 347 pages by myself, and the volume was published in 1910. Of Volumes XV–XVI (Harvard College Records), this much can be said: they were projected in 1902, but nothing was done about them until I became Editor. The text, filling 864 pages, has (as stated above) been completed, the index to the text is in manuscript, a portion of the preliminary matter is in type, the introduction is nearly completed, and the volumes may be expected toward the end of 1925.

There remain to be considered the Royal Commissions and the Royal Instructions. It would be tedious to attempt to recount the trials and tribulations which these have caused. The details will be found in the Editor's report to the Council on November 7, 1907, and in the Preface to Volume II. Suffice it to say here that in March, 1893, Mr. Goodell presented to the Society copies of the Royal Commissions and of the Royal Instructions issued to certain of the Crown officials of the Massachusetts Bay, 1681–1774; that at that time it was supposed that the Commissions and the Instructions together would fill a volume of about five hundred pages; that printing at once began; that, as this progressed, an occasional new Commission and many new instructions were found, and soon it was obvious that the material would far outrun the limits of a single volume; that, after all the Commissions (1681–1774), and the Instructions from 1686 to 1702, had been set, printing was brought to a stop from lack of funds. Thus the matter stood when I became Editor, and remained until 1910, when Mr. Leverett generously said he would pay for a volume containing the Commissions only. At once I tackled the task, only to find that the copies furnished by Mr. Goodell were both badly made and incomplete. Hence the portion already set was relegated to the scrap heap, new copies of the Commissions were obtained from London, and in 1913 Volume II, containing the Commissions only,

was published. Meanwhile, in 1912, Mr. Leverett had offered to pay for the Instructions as well. New copies of these were obtained from London, and the manuscript, filling about 3000 pages, is now on deposit at the Massachusetts Historical Society, where it is accessible to scholars and students, by many of whom it has already been examined.

It thus appears that all the volumes of Collections so far projected have been brought to completion except the Harvard College Records (Volumes XV–XVI), the publication of which can be expected next year, and the Royal Instructions, the publication of which must be left until the Society's finances are in better condition. It is with deep regret that I pass on to my successor any unfinished work, but fourteen volumes of Transactions and five volumes of Collections, besides two other volumes of Collections nearly completed and about one-third of still another volume of Transactions, in twenty years have taxed my capacity for work to the limit.

Finally, there has long been in preparation an Index to Volumes I–XXV of our Publications. This, obviously, cannot be completed until Volumes XV and XVI have been published; and hence the appearance of the Index volume cannot be expected for perhaps two or three years.

In bringing to a close this my last report, I cannot sufficiently express my appreciation of our delightful meetings, my gratitude to the Council for the support and help it has always given me, and my deep thanks to those persons (whether members or non-members of the Society) who, by contributing papers and material, have made our Publications what they are and with whom my associations have been so pleasant and profitable. Finally, I have been under great obligations to all my colleagues on the Committee of Publication, though I hope it will not be thought invidious if two are mentioned by name. Except during the last year or two of his life, when his failure to do so showed only too plainly his waning physical strength, Mr. Edes read proofs with more care than any other member of the Committee save the Editor; and to him appeals were always made in matters relating to typography and illustrations. Mr. Kittredge has not only caught many errors, slips, and infelicities that had escaped the editorial eye, but has never been too busy to give his opinion on matters of policy, the appropriateness of material for our

Publications, or other knotty questions where the Editor hesitated to trust entirely to his own judgment.[1]

The PRESIDENT announced the retirement of Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS as Editor of Publications, and the election by the Council of Mr. KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK as his successor.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE offered the following minute, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

The members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts wish to express their regret at the retirement of the Editor of Publications, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and at the same time to signify their appreciation of his services. This they would prefer to do, if it were possible, in language that should not suggest the merely conventional hyperbole not unusual on such occasions. In the present instance, however, the simple truth may sound extravagant to those who do not know the facts. Yet the facts must be stated, and these can voice themselves in superlatives alone.

The Society, in the last twenty years, has received many gifts from its members, but no gift that equals in value the prodigal expenditure of time, of learning, and of exact scholarship that the Editor has bestowed upon our publications. His wonderfully extensive knowledge of English and American history and literature, his accuracy, his independence in judgment, his sureness of touch, his good taste and sense of style, and his almost miraculous keenness on the trail of truant details and elusive evidence are equalled only by the modesty and tact which he has always shown, though with no lack of firmness, in dealing with the contributions that have passed under his editorial eye and through his editorial hands. He has written many papers for the Society, ranging from brief notes to elaborate monographs — all of characteristic excellence. And, finally, it is to his initiative that the Society owes a considerable number of the communications offered by his associates. "Here was a Cæsar. When comes such another?"[2]

[1] Those portions of the report omitted here are entered in the Council Records.

[2] At the meeting of the Council held on December 3rd, the following minute was adopted:

Moved, that the Council place upon record the sense of profound gratitude we feel for the services of ALBERT MATTHEWS, who gives up the office of Editor at the end of this year. For twenty years Mr. Matthews has held this important

Mr. Harold Murdock read the following paper:

NOTES ON BUNKER HILL — THE AMERICAN DEFENCE

In a paper in this volume[1] on the British attack, which should be read as a prelude to this, I characterize General Gage's command in Boston as a good army. Judged by the same military standards, the Grand American army, as it was somewhat grandiloquently styled at Cambridge, was no army at all. Writing in 1818, John Adams's characterization of this force was clear and concise:

> The Army at Cambridge was not a National Army, for there was no Nation: It was not a United States Army, for there was no united States. It was not an Army of united Colonies; for it could not be said in any sense that the Colinies were united, the Center of their union, the Congress at Philadelphia had not adopted them, nor acknowledged the Army at Cambridge. It was not a New England Army, for New England had not associated. New England had no legal Legislature nor any common executive Authority even upon the principle of original Authority, or even of original power in the people. Massachusetts had her Army, Connecticutt her Army, New Hampshire her Army, and Rhode Island her Army. These four Armies met at Cambridge, and imprisoned the British Army in Boston. But who was the Sovereign of this united or rather congregated Army and who its commander in Chief? It had none. Putnam Poor[2] and Green were as independent of Ward, as Ward was of them. None of them but Ward was Subject to the orders of the Massachusetts provincial Congress. I desire to know from

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office. His salary has never been more than merely nominal. He has discharged his duties with that quality of zeal and thoroughness which no money could ever purchase, but which must be prompted by genuine interest in the work, and profound affection for the Society. We have been wonderfully fortunate in having his help during these formative years. Thanks to him, the Society enjoys its present prominent and respected status. The Publications of the Society up to date, the greater part of which are stamped by his careful and scholarly oversight, will ever stand as an enduring memorial to his faithful, competent, and devoted labors.

[1] Pp. 135–158, below.

[2] Poor did not command the New Hampshire troops before Boston. These troops before the Battle of Bunker Hill voluntarily placed themselves under Ward's orders. At a meeting of their field officers held as early as April 26, it was voted, pending action by the New Hampshire authorities, to advise the men to enlist in the service of Massachusetts. The records of this meeting are in the Massachusetts Archives.

whom Putnam received his Commission, and from whom Poor received his Commission? [1]

These legal anomalies were responsible in part for conditions described by Mr. Frothingham as follows: "The orderly books of this period attest the difficulty of reducing the men to the habits of the soldier's life. Offenders were frequent. Intoxication, peculation, false returns, disobedience of orders, disrespect to officers, want of soldier-like conduct, were the most common offences." [2] It was probably not until Washington's arrival, when, to use his own words, he found "a mixed multitude of people here, under very little discipline, order, or government," [3] that the punishments cited by Frothingham went into effect, that is, "pecuniary fines, standing in the pillory, riding the wooden horse, drumming out of camp, whipping at the head of the regiment, or in still more public places." [4]

The nominal control of the Massachusetts forces was vested in the Provincial Congress, the Committee of Safety sitting at Cambridge holding executive authority from it. The Council of War was composed of the generals from the different colonies and appears to have acted in an advisory capacity. The two months succeeding the affair of Lexington was certainly a critical period in the American camp. More than once there were grave doubts as to whether Massachusetts would be able to hold her men together. The laws long operative in the land had been brought into disrepute. The Courts had been overthrown and too many of the army, accustomed to and encouraged in the defiance of governmental authority, began to display the same disposition toward edicts of the Provincial Congress that they had toward those formulated by a British parlia-

[1] John Adams to George Brinley, June 19, 1818, from the original letter in the Massachusetts Historical Society. In his History of the Siege of Boston (1849), p. 173, Frothingham quotes the passage, but not altogether accurately. The letter was written in reply to a request by Brinley (dated June 16, 1818) to be allowed to quote in an article shortly to appear in the North American Review a passage from Adams's letter to Daniel Putnam of June 5, 1818. The article in question, written by Daniel Webster, was printed in the number for July, 1818, vii. 225–258.

[2] Siege, p. 217 note 2.

[3] July 27, 1775, in id. p. 217 note 2.

[4] Id. p. 218 note.

ment. The towns which so gladly refrained from placing their tax money in the hands of the legal Receiver General showed an equal disinclination to acknowledge the authority of his successor named by the Provincial Congress.[1] The camps became the hotbed of radical debate, the civil power was openly condemned and threatened. "We tremble," said the Provincial Congress on May 16, in a letter to the Continental Congress, "at having an army, although consisting of our own countrymen, established here, without a civil power to provide for and control it."[2] The alarming nature of the situation is nowhere better set forth than in the letter of Joseph Warren dated May 26 to Samuel Adams, then in Philadelphia:

I see more & more the Necessity of establishing a civil Government here and such a Government as shall be sufficient to control the military Forces, not only of this Colony, but also Such as Shall be sent to us from the other Colonies. The Continent must Strengthen & support with all its Weight the civil Authority here, otherwise our Soldiery will lose the Ideas of right & wrong, and will plunder instead of protecting, the Inhabitants. This is but too evident already; & I assure you *inter nos*, that unless some Authority Sufficient to restrain the Irregularities of this Army, is established, we Shall very soon find ourselves involved in greater Difficulties than you can well imagine. . . . My good Wish therefore is that we may restrain everything which tends to weaken the Principles of Right & Wrong, more especially with regard to *property*. . . . I hope Care will be taken by the Continental Congress to apply an immediate Remedy, as the Infection is caught by every new Core [corps] that arrives. . . . For the Honor of my Country, I wish the Disease may be cured before it is known to exist.[3]

Elbridge Gerry's letter of June 4, addressed to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress, is in the same strain:

The people are fully possessed of their dignity from the frequent delineation of their rights, which have been published to defeat the

[1] This is clearly evidenced in the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress. Dawson discusses the matter in his article in the Historical Magazine for June, 1868, p. 329. All references in these footnotes to the Historical Magazine are to the number for June, 1868.

[2] Journals Massachusetts Provincial Congress, p. 230.

[3] The original of this letter is in the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Historical Society. It is printed in Frothingham's Life of Joseph Warren, pp. 495–496.

ministerial party in their attempt to impress them with high notions of government. They now feel rather too much their own importance, and it requires great skill to produce such subordination as is necessary. This takes place principally in the army; they have affected to hold the military too high, but the civil must be first supported, and unless an established form of government is provided, it will be productive of injury. Every day's delay makes the task more arduous.[1]

Clearly the Revolution in Massachusetts had reached a stage where its champions believed that Continental support was necessary to avert anarchy. Among the wiser heads the army was coming to be regarded as a greater menace to civil authority and property rights than it was to the royal garrison in Boston.

Yet there are notes of optimism in the correspondence and gossip of the day. "Fine fellows you know our countrymen are," writes James Warren to Samuel Adams, "and want nothing but a general of spirit and abilities to make them a fine army." [2] William Tudor rejoices that "luckily for us the unevenness of the Country favours our irregular mode of Attack & Defence." [3] To Putnam is attributed the remark that the Americans, while anxious about their legs, had no fear as to their heads. If covered to their shoulders, they would fight forever. In this strange camp good men winced at the profanity that greeted their ears, yet the soldiers listened reverently and in large numbers to militant sermons and sang their hymns with vociferous fervor. There were scores of incompetent officers who cringed before their turbulent commands, and there were also many forceful spirits who had been shot over in the French Wars and who commanded respect and some measure of obedience within their sphere of influence. Some of these were half-pay officers in the King's service who referred to certain men in the British garrison of Boston as friends and old comrades in arms.

Our modern historians have opined that the potency of this besieging army had its root in "the glorious spirit of freedom" which animated its ranks. Perhaps I am only translating this sentiment more literally in expressing the conviction that the American camp was inspired by a hearty and implacable hatred for their

[1] J. T. Austin, Life of Elbridge Gerry, i. 78–79.

[2] June 21, 1775, in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiv. 81.

[3] June 23, 1775, in Historical Magazine, p. 377.

adversaries, a hatred based not so much upon any consciousness of injuries suffered or wrongs endured, as upon the conviction that the chains of a tyrannical bondage were being forged for them in London.

As to the numbers of this army, the constantly shifting personnel of the regiments, due to the activities of recruits and deserters, makes it difficult of determination. The returns of different dates have always been regarded with suspicion by historians. There exists General Ward's estimate of June 9, naming sixteen regiments in and about Cambridge, with a strength of about six thousand rank and file.[1] These formed the centre of the Provincial lines. The right rested on the high land in Roxbury and included nine Massachusetts regiments under Thomas, with about four thousand men. To these should be added the two New Hampshire regiments of Stark and Reed at Medford and Charlestown Neck, the Connecticut regiments of Spencer and Putnam at Roxbury and Cambridge, and the Rhode Island "Army of Observation" under Nathanael Greene at Jamaica Plain. Perhaps the entire force investing Boston at this time may be roughly estimated at fifteen thousand rank and file. These men were armed with guns of all sizes and calibres, sometimes owned, sometimes borrowed, sometimes the spoil of Tory houses. There was no magazine or arsenal. Powder and ball were in insufficient supply, and even nails and old scraps of iron were treasured as death-dealing missiles in case the supply of lead ran low.[2] Testimony as to the number of field guns is conflicting, but this is unimportant, as there were at this time no gunners competent to handle them to advantage.

These facts are all clearly demonstrated in the annals of the time, and yet it was this so-called army, characterized by William Tudor as "little better than an armed mob," that was to challenge to combat the British army in Boston.

The evidence upon which our Bunker Hill story is based consists, first, in that of a contemporaneous character; second, in that devel-

[1] Printed in Frothingham's Siege, p. 118 note.

[2] This is attested by a letter of Dr. Grant, a British surgeon, dated Boston, June 23, 1775, in the New York Historical Society: "The Provincials had either exhausted their ball, or they were determined that every wound should prove fatal; their muskets were charged with old nails and angular pieces of iron' (Historical Magazine, p. 361).

oped by the Putnam-Prescott controversy which had its origin in General Dearborn's outbreak in 1818; and third, in the affidavits furnished by the alleged surviving participants of the battle who attended the semi-centennial exercises in 1825.[1] I assume that no one denies that contemporaneous evidence is the most hopeful source for the establishment of any historical fact and promises the most substantial reward to the conscientious investigator. Unfortunately, the testimony of this sort concerning Bunker Hill is meagre and unsatisfactory. Official information is almost wholly lacking. We have the report of the Committee of Safety, written by the Rev. Peter Thacher, who, whatever his patriotic enthusiasm, lacked many qualities desirable in a military historian. The orderly book of the Commander-in-Chief at Cambridge contains only a marginal note stating that the battle was fought on June 17 and giving the number of casualties. No one can say how long after the battle this entry was made. A few other orderly books are in existence, but they furnish little of importance. The lack of organization in the army was clearly reflected in its book-keeping. There has always been debate as to whether Ward's orders given to Prescott were in writing or only of a verbal character. We have little to guide us as to Ward's intentions or activities before or during the battle.

Contemporaneous statements by participants in the action are

[1] There is also the testimony emanating from the Prescott family, embodied first in what is known as "the manuscript," and second in the memoir written by Judge Prescott, the Colonel's son. Neither of these is to be regarded as in any sense contemporaneous authority, being probably of even later date than the affidavits of 1825. The manuscript said to have been written by different members of the family is brief and commonplace and nowhere suggests collaboration. The memoir is free from the bitterness that characterized the output of so many partizans in the Putnam-Prescott controversy and is evidently inspired by the loving pride of a son in the achievements of a worthy sire. It is open to the criticism that attaches to any recollections of this sort. The name and high respectability of the aged writer have won for this document the confidence of many historians and it has had a marked influence in shaping the commonly accepted story of the battle. It is of no importance to us in our effort to get back to original sources and should, I think, be rejected by every one, in so far as it conflicts with what Colonel Prescott said himself in 1775. The manuscript is printed in C. Butler's History of Groton (1848), pp. 337–341, and in the Historical Magazine, pp. 437–438; and the memoir will be found in full in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiv. 68–78.

scarce. There is Prescott's letter to John Adams,[1] Stark's laconic communication to the New Hampshire authorities,[2] and a few useful diaries and letters. Then there are the newspapers, and letters of non-combatants, giving the gossip of the action and the feeling in the camp. This forms an important, if contradictory, body of testimony.

The evidence of 1818 is not only perplexing but of distinctly dubious value.[3] For the most part it embodies the hazy memories and very present animosities of men of character and even distinction. Dearborn's account, with his attack upon Putnam's courage and behavior, abounds in absurd misstatements and amazing flights of imagination. He marshalled good men and true to utter words in his support, and General Putnam's son also rallied a reputable host to oppose their muddy recollections to the vagaries of Dearborn's friends. The devotee of any theory on Bunker Hill can find authority among these embittered witnesses, and evidence to overthrow any theory can likewise be had in plentiful supply. Dearborn had so little conception of the infirmities that characterize old age, that he republished the contemporaneous map of Lieutenant de Berniere with some astounding "corrections." This brought down upon his head the criticism of so good a man as Governor Brooks of Massachusetts, whose own memory was in a state that a physician would probably have pronounced normal for his years. Mr. Winsor advised the —

> avoidance of the mingled recollections and self-deceptions of the survivors of all grades, who in 1818 furnished so many depositions, over forty years after the conflict, to perplex the truth-lover. These confused recollections, added to the local jealousies of the partisans of the troops of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and to the facts narrated by different persons as having taken place in positions so disconnected as the redoubt and the rail fence, have done much to render the sifting of evidence very necessary.[4]

Mr. Frothingham had the courage and the patience to attempt this sifting when he was writing his History of the Siege. No one

[1] In Frothingham's Siege, pp. 395–396.

[2] Collections New Hampshire Historical Society, ii. 144–145; reprinted in Historical Magazine, pp. 370–371.

[3] Dearborn's account and much of the controversial matter it inspired is reprinted by Dawson in the Historical Magazine, pp. 402–437.

[4] Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution (1880), pp. 43–44.

in his time could have done it better, but the result was not satisfactory to him and can hardly be satisfactory to the reader who desires "nothing but the truth." Writing seventy-five years after the battle, Mr. Frothingham explains apologetically that he feels "incapable of intentionally disparaging the services of any of the patriot band who bore part in this great work." Perhaps to-day, one hundred and fifty years after the event, a writer is justified in approaching the task with a desire neither to disparage nor exalt the services of anyone, whatever his views or activities in the controversies of the time.

The third body of evidence, that of 1825, can be dismissed in a few words. Mr. William Sullivan and other directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association improved the opportunity of the semi-centennial celebration to obtain the depositions of some forty survivors of the battle, who graced the occasion by their presence. A transcript of this evidence in three volumes was in 1842 submitted to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Richard Sullivan. It was referred for inspection to a committee made up of Messrs. George Ticknor, George Bancroft, and George E. Ellis. In April, 1842, Dr. Ellis reported to the Society as follows:

> Their contents were most extraordinary; many of the testimonies extravagant, boastful, inconsistent and utterly untrue; mixtures of old men's broken memories and fond imaginings with the love of the marvellous. Some of those who gave in affidavits about the battle could not have been in it, nor even in its neighborhood. They had got so used to telling the story for the wonderment of village listeners as grandfathers' tales and as petted representatives of "the spirit of '76," that they did not distinguish between what they had seen and done and what they had read, heard, or dreamed. The decision of the committee was that much of the contents of the volumes was wholly worthless for history, and some of it discreditable, as misleading and false.[1]

The Committee concluded that these fulminations of the aged men whom Daniel Webster so glowingly apostrophized on Bunker Hill in 1825 should be disregarded as history, sealed up, and deposited in the Cabinet of the Society as curios. They are supposed to have been returned later to the Sullivan family and by them

[1] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 231 note. Cf. ii. 224, 225.

consigned to the flames. I wonder what the verdict would have been on that other evidence taken in Lexington and Concord in that semi-centennial year of 1825, had it been submitted to the same high historical conclave for inspection.

In the seventeen years intervening between the taking of the Bunker Hill affidavits and their submission to the Historical Society, they were of course regarded as a legitimate part of the battle story. Mr. Samuel Swett, a voluminous writer on our subject during the first half of the nineteenth century, was instrumental in their circulation and publication; but the action of the Historical Society and the caution of later historians have prevented any serious spread of this annoying infection.

Having emphasized those characteristics of the army which were most in the minds of those who were responsible for its well-being and control, and having classified the evidence upon which our story of the battle is founded, we find ourselves on the threshold of our subject. I do not propose to re-tell the story of Bunker Hill in consecutive narrative fashion, but rather to comment upon certain phases of the affair with the aid of such contemporaneous evidence as exists. Let us for the moment close our ears to the angry clamor of 1818, with a view to refreshing our memories as to what was said and thought in the more fateful year of 1775.

The Committee of Safety was well served by spies and doubtless General Gage's designs upon Dorchester Neck were promptly reported in Cambridge. The Council of War was composed of men of courage, with little or no experience in the field of generalship. They were doubtless aware that the high lands of Dorchester and Charlestown were necessary to the security of the British. They must also have known that for purposes of defence against any outbreak of the garrison, these positions were in no sense important to the besiegers. So when on May 12 the Committee of Safety and the Council of War considered the seizure and fortification of Bunker Hill they were contemplating aggressive action to secure that which was unimportant to themselves but vital to the interests of their enemy. Nothing came of these deliberations, both bodies shrinking at that time from so bold and provocative a measure. The matter came up again on June 15, the day on which Gage's plans for the 18th had become known in Cambridge. The

Committee of Safety "resolved unanimously" that not only Bunker Hill but "some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured." This resolve was not entered in the records of the Committee of Safety until the 19th, perhaps from neglect, perhaps to ensure secrecy. Representatives of the Committee and the Council doubtless conferred with the generals commanding the right wing sometime during the 16th of June. While no record exists of what occurred in that quarter, we must assume that General Thomas was not favorable to the suggestion. Any move upon Dorchester Neck would have devolved upon him, and it is certain that no move or no feint to suggest such a move was attempted by him. Putnam has been represented as the moving and forceful spirit in the Council in favor of aggression, Joseph Warren as being in opposition.[1] If this is so, the gathering of Prescott's detachment in the field alongside Ward's Headquarters in the gathering darkness of that June evening to listen to the prayer, probably of President Langdon of Harvard, was evidence of the fact that Putnam had carried his point.

Joseph Warren lay that night at Watertown. Was he fearful that this expedition was rash and ill-considered, that the detachment was being sent to death or captivity, that the God of battles was frowning upon a good cause? Perhaps on this, the last night of his life, he was supported by the hope that the God of battles, who had suffered this thing to happen, might yet relent to confound his enemies and to bring his servants through without dishonor. Next day he was in the field, musket in hand, the ranking officer on the ground, but declining all command, insistent on serving as the pupil of more experienced men. He makes but a dim and modest figure on the battle canvas, hardly distinguishable in the throng that lines the front. He fell unobserved in the moment of defeat, and it was by British hands that he was interred in his mother soil. Is it possible that his rejection of the pleading of his friends and his rash and needless presence with the army were to convince his colleagues that his prudent counsel had not been dictated by fear? It was the post of danger not of authority that he sought and found upon the field.

[1] This theory rests largely upon statements made by Daniel Putnam, the General's son.

I have read to you Mr. Winsor's comment on the confusion arising from evidence as to facts taking place "in positions so disconnected as the redoubt and the rail fence." I propose to avoid certain pitfalls by treating affairs at these points as two separate actions, which in some sense they certainly were. The rail fence was a late and uncommanded interpolation, and lends itself naturally to separate consideration.

And now let us fall in with the rear of that dusky column that is moving slowly across the green into the Charlestown road. The prayer has been said, ammunition and provisions[1] have been distributed, the customary allowance of rum has been served, and the lanterns twinkle feebly in the van. There are three men in this column to whom I think we may attach ourselves with profit. Colonel Prescott you know, and I would also introduce you to two private soldiers, Thomas Boynton of Andover and Peter Brown of Prescott's regiment. These men are recommended not because of any personal partiality that I hold for them, or because they will support any preconceived theory or crotchet of mine, but rather because they are the only members of that famous expedition who told us nearly a hundred and fifty years ago what they did and what they saw at the defence of the redoubt in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Prescott's information is imparted in the letter he wrote to John Adams on August 25, 1775:

> On the 16 June, in the evening, I received orders to march to Breed's Hill in Charlestown, with a party of about one thousand men, consisting of three hundred of my own regiment, Colonel Bridge and Lieut. Brickett, with a detachment of theirs, and two hundred Connecticut forces commanded by Captain Knowlton. We arrived at the spot, the lines were drawn by the engineer, and we began the intrenchment about twelve o'clock; . . .[2]

[1] Orders were issued that the men should be supplied with one day's provisions, but as they found themselves short of food and drink in the morning, this may have been one of the important matters that was overlooked. Mr. Charles Martyn in his life of Artemas Ward (1921, p. 123) puts proper emphasis on the entry in Stow's Orderly Book for June 17, which proves that the regiments of Nixon, Little, and Mansfield with 200 Connecticut troops were to relieve Prescott on the afternoon of that day. Prescott doubtless knew this and did not expect earlier relief. Stow's entry throws discredit upon statements in the Prescott manuscript and other late authorities.

[2] Frothingham, Siege, p. 395; Historical Magazine, pp. 390–391.

This is a brief, business-like statement, and yet it plunges us at once into the realm of controversy. This hinges upon Prescott's use of the name *Breed's Hill*, and his failure to mention an episode that all our historians assert as having occurred. Samuel Gray, writing to John Dyer in London under date of July 12, 1775, mentions as hearsay, —

that the engineer [1] and two generals went on to the hill at night and reconnoitred the ground; that one general and the engineer were of opinion we ought not to intrench on Charlestown Hill [Breed's] till we had thrown up some works on the north and south ends of Bunker Hill, to cover our men in their retreat, if that should happen, but on the pressing importunity of the other general officer, it was consented to begin and was done.[2]

Gray is careful to give this statement as hearsay and not of his own knowledge, but it receives a measure of confirmation from the report of the Committee of Safety dated July 25, which states that "*by some mistake*, this hill [Breed's] was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other." [3] As Putnam is credited with being the dominating figure in the conference which was responsible for Prescott's march, so he has been named as the general who overbore his colleagues in that night conference on Bunker Hill. There is no satisfactory evidence in support of either theory. Putnam, it would seem, should have been the last man to advocate the Breed's Hill position. All the evidence, ancient and modern, good, bad, and indifferent, indicates that throughout the 17th of June Putnam had Bunker Hill so to speak "on the brain." It is alleged on the best authority that he drew men and entrenching tools from Breed's where they were sorely needed,[4] and that he diverted men march-

[1] Richard Gridley.

[2] Frothingham, Siege, p. 395.

[3] Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1373–1376; reprinted in Frothingham's Siege, p. 382, and in Historical Magazine, p. 387. The italics are mine.

[4] General Heath's memorandum, probably contemporaneous, is worth quoting: "Just before the action began, Gen. Putnam came to the redoubt, and told Col. Prescott that the entrenching tools must be sent off, or they would be lost; the Colonel replied, that if he sent any of the men away with the tools, not one of them would return; to this the General answered, they shall every man return. A large party was then sent off with the tools, and not one of them returned; in this instance the Colonel was the best judge of human nature" (Memoirs, 1901, p. 123).

ing into action to the work of entrenching on Bunker Hill. Of course, he was right in regarding Prescott in great peril unless the more commanding position in his rear was securely held; but if this was his opinion, is it likely that he forced upon unwilling colleagues the fortification of an untenable outpost when there were neither tools nor men enough to fortify and garrison both positions?

It has been asserted that Prescott's reference to Breed's Hill was an inadvertence, and this may well be so. Dawson argued in 1868 that the Council of War deliberately deceived the Committee of Safety and that Prescott had verbal orders from Ward to occupy Breed's Hill. According to this theory the dispute might have been between Putnam and Prescott, the former urging the occupation of Bunker Hill and Prescott insisting on carrying out Ward's orders to entrench on the lesser height. There is no authority for this entirely plausible theory. Prescott's silence leaves us in perplexity. Indeed, if we disregard the long-range evidence of 1818 we have little but current gossip to support the story of any quarrel or the presence of any officer on the ground that night superior in rank to Prescott.

We have now cleared the way for the three witnesses I have named, and can listen to Prescott as he goes on with his story. The bombardment of his position, he says, began "just before sun-rising," and then he adds curtly, "the engineer forsook me."[1] Worse than that, his field officers (that is, Bridge and Brickett) failed him, or, to use his own words, "being indisposed, could render me but little service, and the most of the men under their command deserted the party."[2] About two o'clock, seeing that the British were landing at Moulton's Point, he ordered the train with two field pieces supported by the Connecticut troops "to go and oppose them." This was certainly a feeble force to send against the troops who were already swarming up the little hill that crowned the point, and we are moved to pity as well as censure by Prescott's next remark. "The train marched a different course, and I believe those sent to their support followed, I suppose to Bunker's Hill."[3] Then

[1] Frothingham, Siege, p. 395.

[2] Id. p. 395.

[3] Probably Prescott was not altogether fair to Knowlton. He had evidently expected the Connecticut men to move in the direction of Moulton's Point,

two encouraging facts are noted. The enemy waited an hour at Moulton's Point before marching to the attack, and in that interval Prescott beheld that "party of Hampshire, in conjunction with some other forces,"[1] who had "lined a fence at the distance of three score rods back of the fort, partly to the north."[2] To find himself in touch with reinforcements after suffering so heavily from desertions may well have brought cheer to the Colonel's heart. Scanty as his numbers were, Prescott then commanded his "Lieut.-col. Robinson and Major Woods, each with a detachment, to flank the enemy." Where they went remains a mystery, but at all events he had "reason to think" that they "behaved with prudence and courage."[3] This left him, he tells us, "with perhaps one hundred and fifty men in the fort." We must assume, I think, that his estimate of the residue of his force was a minimum and that from some quarter he must have been soon after reinforced. Prescott continues:

> The enemy advanced and fired very hotly on the fort, and meeting with a warm reception, there was a very smart firing on both sides. After a considerable time, finding our ammunition was almost spent, I commanded a cessation till the enemy advanced within thirty yards, when we gave them such a hot fire that they were obliged to retire nearly one hundred and fifty yards before they could rally and come again to the attack. Our ammunition being nearly exhausted, could keep up only a scattering fire. The enemy being numerous, surrounded our little fort, began to mount our lines and enter the fort with their bayonets. We were obliged to retreat through them, while they kept up as hot a fire as it was possible for them to make.[4]

So much for the observations of the gallant commander in the redoubt. Now let us hear from Private Peter Brown, who speaks

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whereas by marching "a different course" they gained a better position and constructed the rail fence. Capt. Callender of "the train" was court-martialed and dismissed the service, but lived to re-establish his reputation for courage upon many a well fought field.

[1] Doubtless Knowlton's command.

[2] Frothingham, Siege, p. 396.

[3] It may have been this detachment which occupied the barn shown on de Berniere's map and fired upon the flank of the Marines in the final attack upon the redoubt.

[4] Frothingham, Siege, p. 396.

for the common soldier and gives us picturesquely his experiences and point of view. A certain letter dated June 25, 1775, and written to his mother, is the medium through which this brave man speaks.[1] He noted the first glow of dawn reddening the cloudless east, the high-piled town beyond the river emerging wraithlike from the gloom of night, the battery frowning grimly on Copp's Hill, and the men of war swinging lazily at their moorings in the stream below. "We worked there undiscovered till about 5 in the Morn," he says, "and then we saw our Danger being against 8 Ships of the Line & all Boston fortified against us. (The Danger we were in made us think there was Treachery, & that we were brot there to be all slain, and I must & will venture to say that there was Treachery, Oversight or Presumption in the Conduct of our Officers.)"

Peter Brown was evidently a typical Provincial soldier of the better sort. That he was speaking for his comrades as well as himself is evidenced by an order passed in Provincial Congress on June 20, naming a committee of five "to inquire into the grounds of a report which has prevailed in the army, that there has been treachery in some of the officers." The story came to the ears of Ezekiel Price, for we read in his diary, "all the reports of treachery were entirely without foundation, and propagated by the enemies to the cause, and weak, discontented men, and by some cowards who fled from the engagement, and formed these lies to favor their escape from danger."[2]

So far as Peter Brown was concerned, these strictures were undeserved. He was no coward, no thought of flight entered his mind, and he kept at work despite his suspicions of his superiors. He continues:

About half after 5 in the Morn, we not having above half the Fort done, they began to fire, . . . They killed one of us, and then they ceased till about 11 o'Clock and then they began pretty brisk again; and that caused some of our young Country ppl. to desert, apprehending the Danger in a clearer manner than the rest, who were more diligent in digging & fortify[s] ourselves against them. We began to be almost

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[1] See the letter in Stiles's Literary Diary, i. 595–596; also in Frothingham's Siege, pp. 392–393, and in the Historical Magazine, pp. 396–397.

[2] 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 191.

beat out, being tired by our Labour and having no sleep the night before, but little victuals, no Drink but Rum.[1]

Brown then comments on the waxing and waning of the bombardment, and notes the fire "from the Ship that lay in the River against the Neck to stop our Reinforcem^{ts} w^{c} they did in some Measure."[2] After repeated applications for artillery, four field pieces arrived from Cambridge, "the Cap^{t} of which," says Brown, "fired but a few times, and then swang his Hat round three Times to the Enemy then ceased to Fire." Soon the barges came into view, making their way across the river crowded with regulars. Brown guesses their number to be about 3000 and adds, that there were "about 700 of us left not deserted,[3] besides 500 Reinforcem^{t} that could not get so nigh to us as to do any good hardly till they saw that we must all be cut off, or some of them, and then they advanced."[4] When the Regulars began to land we are told that the officers in the redoubt —

ordered the Artill^{y} to go out of the fort & prevent their Land^{g} if possible, from which the Artill^{y} Cap^{t} took his Pieces & went right off home to Cambridge fast as he could, for which he is now confined & we expect will be shot for it.[5] But the Enemy landed & fronted before us & formed themselves in an Oblong Square, so as to surround us w^{c} they did in part, & After they were well formed they advanced towds us in Order to swallow us up, but they found a choaky Mouthful of us, tho' we could do noth^{g} with our small Arms as yet for Distance, & had *but two*

[1] I do not think that this can be construed as the wail of a teetotaler. The men were up and down from Charlestown village all the morning and had free access to the town wells. What Brown yearned for was a long drink of the wine of the country — that is, cider and beer. A letter written to Jeremiah Powell from Newburyport June 21, 1775, says that the men "were almost suffocated with dust & choak'd for want of liquor." Jonathan Trumbull writes August 31, 1779, that the men were "not even furnished with provisions and liquors for their refreshment" (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 159).

[2] The armed transport Cymetry, mounting eighteen 9-pounders, bombarded the Neck from Charles River.

[3] Dawson made a curious misreading of this passage, interpreting it to mean that 700 men left the works, the words "not deserted" being added by way of satire. Brown was not satirical and meant that there were 700 left in the redoubt after all desertions.

[4] This may refer to the appearance of Stark's vanguard of 200 men or to some unidentified Massachusetts troops who reached the redoubt.

[5] Capt. John Callender.

Cannon & nary Gunner. And they from B° & from the ships a fir^{g} & throw^{g} Bombs keep^{g} us down till they got almost round us. But God in Mercy to us fought our Battle for us, & altho' we were but few & so were suffered to be defeated by them, we were preserved in a most wonderful Manner far beyond Expectation, to Admiration.

Peter Brown had endured all manner of hardness as became a good soldier, but he did not propose to throw his life away and was not among those who we are told lingered to throw stones and oppose clubbed muskets to the bayonets of the troops. When resistance had become folly, he for the first time thought of himself. Here is his picturesque conclusion: "I was in the fort till the Regulars came in & I jumped over the Walls & ran for about half a Mile where Balls flew like Hailstones, & Cannons roared like Thunder."

Thomas Boynton's statement is valuable, if rather commonplace.[1] He cites again the events of the night and morning, then adds:

> At the sun's rising they began to fire upon us from the shiping; the 3^{d} or 4th shot they kild one man, and many others escaped very narrowly. . . . About 2 or 3 o'clock, the enemy landed, and advanced toards us, its thot to the number of 2000 men, and soon planted their cannon and began the fire, and advancing up to our fort. After they came within gun shot we fird, and then ensud a very hot engagement. After a number of shots passed, the enemy retreated, and we ceased our fire for a few minutes. They advanced again, and we began a hot fire for a short time. The enemy scaling our walls and the number of our men being few, we was ordered to retreat, at which time the enemy were allmost round us, and a continual firing at our heals.

Now what do we learn from these three combatants and eye-witnesses, including the commander at the redoubt? They agree upon all points except the ammunition, the two privates making no mention of that. Boynton and Brown coincide on certain minor details, as witness the mention of the first victim of the cannonade. Brown confirms Prescott as to the desertions and the misbehavior of the artillery, — Boynton, Prescott's brief account of the action. The musketry began at long range and continued until Prescott gave the order to cease firing. The advancing troops are met almost under the walls of the redoubt by a close and deadly discharge

[1] See his diary in 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xv. 255.

that sends them reeling back one hundred and fifty yards. Then after a few moments' cessation of fire the British half encircle the redoubt and rush it with the bayonet. This account is in complete harmony with what we hear from Boston, where to spectators the firing seemed incessant.[1] It is also in agreement with Burgoyne's narrative.[2] An account of the battle that is supported by Prescott and Burgoyne and by belligerents and spectators on both sides of the river is at least worthy of presentation.

Late American evidence states that the British threw aside their knapsacks, blankets, and all useless impedimenta before the final storm. This seems probable, although we find no mention of it in the British sources. Thacher's report states that the die was cast when the British artillery gained a position where they raked the breastwork from end to end. Page's map shows that the breastwork was first forced about midway of its length. There can be no doubt that the American defence was first broken in this quarter, but the maps indicate no spot where the guns could have been used with the results mentioned by Thacher. Mr. Swett, in recasting de Berniere's map for use in his account of the battle, in 1826, did a curious thing. He shows the cannon firing through the sally port of the redoubt, and places them in the only place on the field where they could have accomplished this feat, wholly unmindful that he was leaving them within a few yards of the rail fence, where the gunners would have been picked off in a moment. There is evidence indicating that the breastwork was stoutly defended hand to hand.

So much for the redoubt. You remember that Prescott told us

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[1] Rev. Andrew Eliot says: "great part of the time the firing seemed incessant" (Historical Magazine, p. 369). The merchant in Boston: "the most incessant discharge of guns that ever was heard with mortal ears, continued for three quarters of an hour" (Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1079). Richard Pope: "It resembled rather a continual sheet of Lightning, and an uninterrupted peal of Thunder, than the explosion of Fire arms" (manuscript diary in the Huntington Library, photostat in the New York Public Library). A British officer: "an incessant stream of fire poured from the rebel lines, it seemed a continued sheet of fire for near thirty minutes" (in Detail and Conduct of the American War, 3rd ed., London, 1780, p. 13. This letter is found in an earlier but undated edition of the same pamphlet, entitled A View of the Evidence relative to the Conduct of the American War, etc., London, p. 73).

[2] Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1094–1095.

of sending out the Connecticut troops to resist the British landing and that they marched another route, probably to Bunker Hill. Captain Knowlton was in charge of this detachment, and if he disobeyed orders, as Prescott believed, he was certainly ordered back by Putnam. Probably to Knowlton belongs the credit for the construction of the rail fence, although it is also probable that he was assisted by the "party of Hampshire" and by certain other adventurous souls who were inspired by their example. The seizure and defence of this line made possible the Battle of Bunker Hill and probably prevented an almost bloodless victory for Howe. Vital as this position was to the American cause, we have almost nothing in the way of contemporaneous evidence describing its defence. There was no commander there with an oversight over the whole line, no one in authority who could have submitted a comprehensive report. Old Pomeroy was probably present. Putnam may have been there also, but only for short and interrupted periods. Stark's brief mention of his service would do as well for Waterloo or Armageddon as for Bunker Hill, while Knowlton tells us nothing of what took place along the Connecticut front. Stark makes no allusion to the Connecticut men, the New Hampshire contingent was invisible to Connecticut eyes, while we might well assume that the only Massachusetts contribution to the cause in this quarter was the fence itself and the ground upon which it was built.

Certain facts are indisputable. We know not only that here were the two New Hampshire regiments of Stark and Reed and the Connecticut contingent under Knowlton, but that these, with the exception of Prescott's regiment in the redoubt, were the only considerable American detachments who came on the field and stayed and fought as units. Stark's position was on the extreme left of the line near the Mystic, while Knowlton, reinforced before four o'clock by certain Connecticut companies from Cambridge, was on the right, where the fence turned sharply to the southwest to join the breastwork. In the interval between these detachments, and probably interspersed with them, were such of the Massachusetts men as had made their way to this front, and all of the defenders on Knowlton's right were doubtless also of Massachusetts commands. The first firing probably began in front of the redoubt, to draw

attention from Howe's advance along the Mystic, but the first attack fell upon Stark. He was shrewd enough to discover that his position could be turned by a column moving along the beach under cover of the bank. It is alleged that he had stones rolled down to the water's edge and constructed some sort of rough defence for his protection. De Berniere's British map is confirmatory of this, showing the line of the fence carried far out across the beach. We should remember that at this time the beach was at its narrowest stage, it being high water at thirty-four minutes after three. This condition undoubtedly favored Stark and impeded his enemy.

Instead of achieving a bloodless flank movement, Howe found himself the victim of an American ambush. The fighting at this point was evidently close and destructive. The British detachment on the beach was perhaps subjected to a fire from the bank as well as in front, and was ultimately driven back in disorder. We must assume that Reed and the men immediately on his right were at this time being diverted by the Grenadiers, although according to Page's British map it was not until the collapse of the enterprise on their right that these troops were seriously lined up for offensive work. The British soon abandoned their offensive against the fence, but toward the close of the action there was another sharp combat on the right of this line, details of which are preserved in the letters of two Connecticut soldiers, Captain John Chester and Lieutenant Samuel B. Webb. These men arrived with their company just as the breastwork was abandoned. With well-filled ammunition pouches they began their fire "very briskly; the regulars fell in great plenty; but, to do them justice, they kept a grand front, and stood their ground nobly."[1] The Connecticut men held their position until the fugitives from the redoubt reached them, Chester being of the opinion that his command "fought standing about six minutes,"[2] when they were swept back in the tide of retreat.

We are all familiar with the standardized story of Bunker Hill — the slow imposing advance of the troops, the hush that broods over the scene as the cannonading ceases and the attackers approach the works, the sudden crash of the American musketry, the wavering, bending, and cracking of the British line, which at last is swept

[1] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiv. 62.

[2] Frothingham, Siege, p. 391.

down the hill in utter defeat. Then the activities of the British officers as they strive to bring order out of chaos, employing the points of their swords against their men; the gradual reforming of the lines, and then the second slow advance with the same disastrous results. Far down the slope, the refugees are halted, knapsacks and blankets are thrown away, and goaded still by the swords of their officers, the men are more driven than led up the hill to where this time victory awaits them. The intervals between these assaults suggest the intermissions between acts at the opera or those that separate the halves in a modern football contest. Conversation flows behind the rail fence and in the redoubt, congratulations are exchanged, words of encouragement are passed about, and there is speculation as to whether the stricken battalions will dare to come up again. It is a general attack all along the front from Charlestown to the Mystic.

While Thacher's report affords some basis for this tale, you find it more clearly branded with the date 1818. It was then that men came forward in angry and boastful mood with a wealth of detail and much elaboration of speech. The contemporaneous evidence, upon which this story is based, is unimaginative and laconic. Isaac Lothrop hears that the Provincials "obliged the enemy twice to give way." [1] Captain Chester was told "they partly broke and retreated . . . in the same manner were repulsed a second, and some say, a third time." [2] General Heath writes that the fire "staggered, and even broke them, but they rallied, and returning to the charge again and again, drove the Americans from the lines." [3] On every hand it was the common talk in the American Camp that the British had been twice repulsed. Now we know that the Light Infantry failed against the American left and that Pigot was thrown back at the redoubt, these incidents occurring at different times and in different places. I recall no witness previous to 1818 who alleged that he personally saw the two repulses that everyone reported as having occurred. We might construct a very reasonable theory, that men who served in the redoubt conferred with those who had fought at the fence, and from such intercourse came the story of the double

[1] Historical Magazine, p. 374.
[2] Frothingham, Siege, p. 390.
[3] Memoirs (1901), p. 13.

retreat. This explanation appeals to me, and if Howe did risk his Grenadiers in a serious attack upon the fence, then we have a third check of the sort suffered by Pigot to be credited to the American arms.[1] What thrilled the Provincials in 1775 was that their raw militia had at this point or that seen the British regulars break and retreat. Accepting this well-established fact, we may yet query the truth of the standardized story of the battle, with its long intermissions and its hordes of terrified soldiers running up hill and down dale a good half mile to their boats. The question of time has an important bearing on the case. I think we are justified in believing that not more than an hour elapsed between the first musketry fire and the retreat of the American army. Thacher, in draughting his report for the Committee of Safety says, "exactly an hour & an half."[2] The Committee, while accepting his account with few alterations, did amend this statement to read "about an hour." Captain Chester, accepting the statement of an eye-witness, says "thirty-five minutes."[3] John Winthrop says "above an hour."[4] Isaac Lothrop says "about an hour."[5] These extracts show the trend of American opinion. Some of the earliest newspaper accounts named two hours, but you find also in these first hurried effusions the news of the slaying of Colonel Smith and General Burgoyne. Even Prescott's guess of one hour and twenty minutes did not control the finding of the Committee of Safety. The American estimates of time find confirmation in the statements of combatants and non-combatants on the other side of the Charles. Their figures run from forty minutes to nearly an hour.[6]

Would any soldier say, unless you could convince him that it

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[1] See pp. 151–152, below.

[2] Thacher's manuscript draught of the report is printed by Dawson in the Historical Magazine, p. 384, from the original in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. It is also printed in the Proceedings of that society for April, 1909, xix. 438–442.

[3] Frothingham, Siege, p. 390.

[4] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 292.

[5] Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1089; Historical Magazine, p. 374.

[6] Rev. Andrew Eliot says the action lasted "perhaps an hour" (Historical Magazine, p. 369). The merchant in Boston has it, "three quarters of an hour" (Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1079). J. Waller, officer on a British ship, thought "about forty minutes" (letter in my possession). "Another account" from Boston says "after an obstinate attack of an hour" (Rivington's Gazetteer, July 13, 1775).

took at least 120 minutes to make an hour, that it would have been possible in the time allowed for the British to come on three times at their slow pace, to be routed twice, and to undergo in the intervals the radical reorganization that was twice necessary, according to the prevalent story? Is this glorified narrative justified by contemporaneous evidence? I am not dogmatizing, but submit these queries for your consideration. The evidence of 1818 remains vital and intact for those who prefer to use it.

The outstanding feature of the defence was the fire control maintained at different points. That undisciplined men, crowding to the walls for the chance to rest a musket, with units broken and intermixed, should have been amenable to such control is an astounding fact.[1] Its efficacy was acknowledged by the British, whose slow advance in line contributed to its murderous effect. Possibly the men at the fence were good marksmen, but whatever their skill in this respect, it was their marvellous restraint that staggered the attackers at different points. Poorer shots than these Provincials might have wrought as great havoc with that close-packed and glittering target moving leisurely on into point-blank range.

Stark and his associates have been criticized in some quarters for not emerging from their stronghold when the fighting waned on their front, to disperse the thin red line before them. But all semblance of units had disappeared behind the fence, the men could not have been moved even as companies, they were at best ill-trained in field evolutions, and bayonets were few and far between. Then Stark doubtless held in high respect that depleted force of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, and may have noted also that the fire of the Royal Artillery was becoming painfully precise and effective. He had prevented a great American disaster and did not propose at the eleventh hour to play into the hands of the British Commander. The prudent policy adopted by the defenders of the rail fence recalls appreciatively the lines of the poet:

> 'Tain't a knowin' kind o' cattle
> Thet is ketched with mouldy corn.

[1] Capt. Chester's letter: "We lost our regularity, as every company had done before us, and fought as they did, every man loading and firing as fast as he could" (Frothingham, Siege, p. 391).

We come now to a brief consideration of the numbers engaged and the losses sustained. We have to consider these questions together, as one has a bearing upon the other. The early letters and newspaper accounts give the Provincial strength as from five to seven hundred men. The Committee of Safety says "about 1500." Washington, doubtless following this report, repeats the same figure. Putnam is quoted as saying "fifteen hundred at first & 700 afterwards." [1] This, while capable of two interpretations, has been taken to mean 2200. Governor Trumbull, writing in 1779, returns to a figure of six hundred.[2] Samuel Swett early in the nineteenth century gives the number as "fluctuating, but may be fairly estimated at 3500 who joined in the battle, and 500 more who covered the retreat." Frothingham thought the number engaged at any one time was 1500, while perhaps 1000 more bore some part in the action. Dawson returned to the eighteenth-century estimate of 1500. The persistence of 1500 is doubtless due to the report of the Committee of Safety. In the confusion and uncertainty at the time, it may well have been assumed that such data as existed were in the hands of this Committee at Cambridge.

It may be that the coming and going of the men on fleeting visits to the front during the progress of the battle has been exaggerated by modern writers. In the first place, as we have seen, the action was of very short duration. Moreover, men who had crossed the fire-swept area between Bunker and Breed's Hills might well have considered that they were as safe at the front as in retracing those perilous steps. Our only record of desertions comes from the redoubt before the British advance had begun.

As for losses, the first feeling among the Provincials was that they had suffered lightly. Estimates in the earliest accounts range from one to two hundred. General Ward's memorandum in his orderly book says 420 killed and wounded and 30 captured, while the Provincial Congress report gives us, according to "an exact return," a total of 449. Samuel Gray writes on July 12, 1775: "I think our loss can never be ascertained with precision, as the order, regularity,

[1] Stiles, Literary Diary, i. 576.

[2] "Near one half the troops engaged on each side, being either killed or wounded; that is, of the British 1100, and of the Americans more than 300" (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 160).

and discipline, of the troops from this province, is so deficient that no return can be made which is to be relied upon. However, the returns, for many reasons, . . . will exceed rather than fall short of the real loss." [1] Gray may have had in mind that good old American custom, ante-dating the French and Indian wars, which led soldiers to exaggerate their ills for the purpose of securing from time to time in the future special remuneration from a grateful government. At all events, hundreds of petitions are still in existence from alleged veterans of Bunker Hill praying for that which in modern times we style a pension, bonus, adjusted compensation, or what you will.

What we regard to-day as the official report of losses is that offered by Mr. Frothingham in his History of the Siege, made up, as he tells us, "from letters, official returns, and an article in a Providence newspaper," where the casualties are listed by regiments.[2] He makes the total figure 441, sufficiently in harmony with the estimates of Ward and the Committee of Safety. No one, I think, can better Mr. Frothingham's labors in this field, and for our purpose a figure of 441 is quite sufficient. If we accept this total, it is not without value in determining the number of men engaged. Perhaps the gentlemen composing the Massachusetts Committee, in preparing their report, may have been tempted to accept minimum figures for the Provincial numbers. They were writing for British consumption. They may not have been conscious at the time of the strength of their allies in the field. At all events, their estimate of 1500 Americans in action must be regarded as a severe if unconscious reflection upon their own province. The truth is that New Hampshire and Connecticut alone had a thousand men at the rail fence,[3] a fact that no one has questioned, and this compels the conclusion that only five hundred of the five thousand Massachusetts troops ordered forward by Ward reached the firing line. It suggests also that, save for the detachment that stood by Prescott in the midst of the morning's desertions, no Massachusetts soldier crossed

[1] Frothingham, Siege, p. 394.

[2] Id. p. 193 note.

[3] According to a return of June 14, Reed's regiment, a smaller organization than Stark's, had 486 rank and file. (Frothingham, Siege, p. 187.) These two regiments alone had a strength on paper of more than one thousand men.

the zone of fire to strike a blow in defence of Massachusetts soil. Here is a dilemma that seems to have escaped the attention of Massachusetts writers, who had faith in the Committee's report. I understand that on Bunker Hill there is a tablet stating that "the American troops engaged numbered 1500," and that they "were mainly from Massachusetts." I respectfully submit that one or the other of these assertions must be incorrect.

Fortunately, we have not only the approximate strength of the New Hampshire and Connecticut forces, but their losses as well. From New Hampshire 86 men were killed or wounded. From Connecticut 45 appear in the casualty list. This makes a total loss of 131 in these two detachments, or thirteen per cent of their number. Deducting this figure of 131 from the total Provincial loss of 441 leaves in round numbers 310 casualties to be borne by Massachusetts. According to the Providence newspaper used by Frothingham, this loss involved, to a greater or less extent, fourteen regiments, all those, in fact, who rest under any suspicion of having been ordered to the front by Ward. Now if the percentage of loss in the Massachusetts troops was the same as that suffered by the New Hampshire and Connecticut forces, their casualties of 310 represented thirteen per cent of their numbers in the field. This would mean that 2400 instead of 500 of Ward's army participated in the battle, and also that the defenders of the Breed's Hill lines aggregated nearly 3500 men. This computation, curiously enough, brings us into close harmony with Swett's guess of nearly one hundred years ago. If you choose to believe that Massachusetts suffered heavier proportionate loss than her allies, if you settle upon twenty instead of thirteen per cent for her, then you have 1600 Massachusetts men in action, 2600 manning the lines, and find yourself in harmony with Frothingham. It is an interesting problem, this distribution of the Massachusetts army between the firing line and the crowded and disordered rear. If I am not disqualified, as a Massachusetts man, from hazarding an opinion in the matter, I should say that there are solid grounds for the hope that at least two thousand of Ward's soldiers, commanded and uncommanded, principally in small units and groups, found their way to where death and danger lurked.

I should be violating a time-honored tradition, if in these rambling notes on Bunker Hill I omitted some specific mention of what controversialists have specified as "the command." Of course, you have divined my opinion that in the nature of things there could have been no dominating oversight or direction of the field. It is amazing to me that there could ever have been a controversy upon this subject, a controversy in which even Daniel Webster mingled and which he thought not unworthy of his steel. Charles Lee would hardly have been selected for any judicial quality that resided in him to umpire a matter of this sort, and yet it would have been well for New England had it rested content with the verdict he pronounced in his Vindication published in 1778. Here it is: "The Americans were composed, in part, of raw lads and old men, half armed, with no practice or discipline, commanded without order, and God knows by whom."[1]

Prescott was the presiding genius at the redoubt. His claim to fame has never been disputed, and after eighteen hours of toil and vigil he waged his battle with a stout heart. The services of Putnam are less clearly defined, less recognizable perhaps because of the fervid protestations of over-zealous friends. But this much may be said for him, that if he did play the coward or poltroon at Bunker Hill, it was for the first and only time in a long, honorable, and courageous life.

We began our review of the Provincial activities at Bunker Hill by some comments upon the army at Cambridge. Out of this seeming welter of disorder and insurbordination we have seen emerge those sturdy defenders of the Breed's Hill lines. Whatever their numbers, though lacking the confidence and inspiration that comes from discipline and leadership, they withstood unshaken a prolonged bombardment by land and sea and dared to face in arms those trained battalions of the King.

Beyond Bunker Hill and the isthmus were the hundreds and per-

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[1] Frothingham, quoting this passage, vaguely attributed it to Lee's "Vindication, published in 1778" (Siege, p. 375). "General Lee's Vindication to the Public," prefaced by a brief note from Lee himself, was printed in the Pennsylvania Packet of December 3, 1778: see Lee Papers, iii. 255–265 (Collections New York Historical Society for 1873), where the passage in question occurs on p. 262.

haps thousands of stragglers who had failed to meet the test.[1] They were called cowards in their day, though we judge them more kindly now. But those mightier souls who found strength and joy in battle — their achievement forms the most amazing fact in the story of Bunker Hill.

[1] The best account of this confusion in the rear is to be found in Capt. Chester's letter (Frothingham, Siege, pp. 389–391).

JANUARY MEETING, 1925

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, January 22, 1925, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. CHARLES SPRAGUE SARGENT of Brookline was elected a Resident Member.

Upon the recommendation of the Council, reported to the Society by the PRESIDENT, the following vote was passed:

That the Society approves of the action of the Council at its December meeting in authorizing the Editor or other officer of the Society to place on deposit at the Massachusetts Historical Society such books, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., as to them seems proper, subject to withdrawal at the request of the Council.

Mr. HAROLD MURDOCK read the following paper:

NOTES ON BUNKER HILL — THE BRITISH ATTACK

There are two sides in every battle, and I propose to concentrate upon the excellent contemporaneous evidence that exists, both official and non-official, with a view to describing the British attack on Breed's Hill lines on the 17th of June, 1775. This story lends itself naturally to separate and distinct treatment, and a reasonable un-

derstanding of what our ancestors achieved at Bunker Hill can be more easily attained if we are solidly informed as to the numbers, plans, and activities of their adversaries.

While the army in Boston at this time was a good army, well officered and equipped, it is evident that between the 19th of April and the 17th of June there had been some deterioration in its morale, and probably some impairment of its health. Restricted to the narrow boundaries of the town, badly quartered, inactive, with a shortage of fresh provisions, mentally and bodily the army was just beginning to feel the inconvenience of the siege. After Lexington, Gage lay upon his arms, nonplussed by the situation and awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. A larger force was a necessity of the military situation, yet he knew that, unless these accessions were used for the enlargement of the military area, they would only add to the congestion in the town and render more acute the problems of subsistence.

On May 6, there arrived from Halifax four companies of the 65th Regiment.[1] On the 14th, a transport came in with a detachment of Marines, the first installment of a reinforcement of six hundred for that corps.[2] With the Marines then serving in the town, these men were incorporated into two provisional regiments or battalions of ten companies each, to serve under Major Pitcairn; as witness his orders of May 20.[3]

These two detachments were the first reinforcements to arrive after the 19th of April. On May 25th the Cerberus came in with the three Major Generals aboard, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, and in the interval between that date and the 17th of June there also arrived the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons (Preston's) and the 35th, 49th, and 63rd Regiments of Foot. This infantry was still in the process of landing on the 17th of June, and a portion of the 35th and 49th were still at sea.

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[1] Two companies of this regiment were already in Boston, having arrived in the Rose man-of-war from Newfoundland, October 12, 1774. Thomas Newell in his diary (Frothingham, Siege, pp. 363–364) says three companies arrived at that time, but this is probably an error as it disagrees with subsequent military returns.

[2] Diary of Lieut. John Barker, Cambridge, 1924, p. 47. The balance of the 600 appears to have landed on May 23 (id., p. 50).

[3] Printed in S. A. Drake's "Bunker Hill. The Story told in letters . . . by British officers engaged" (Boston, 1875), pp. 74–75.

It is possible then, although I believe the task has never been seriously undertaken before, to determine from reliable British records the various commands that were serving in Boston at the moment that the Lively opened fire on the redoubt upon Breed's Hill. These consisted of the 4th, 5th, 10th, 23rd, 35th, 38th, 43rd, 47th, 49th, 52rd, 59th, and 63rd Regiments of Foot, the First and Second Battalions of Marines, the 17th Light Dragoons, and five companies of Royal Artillery.[1] To these should be added what was known as the Incorporated Corps, a provisional regiment made up of three companies of the 18th Regiment [2] and six companies of the 65th. At the Castle were the 64th Regiment and two companies of recruits assigned to the 14th, which had been ordered there for training.[3] The 64th was not included in the activities of the Boston garrison, and is not mentioned in Howe's orders until October 27. With this knowledge of the composition of the army we may make a close approximation of its numerical strength. The authorized company strength for British regiments serving in America was 38 men.[4] This figure was never reached in Boston except in the case of the Marines, where it was clearly exceeded. We know that the 23rd (Royal Welch Fusileers) took the field on the 19th of April with 282 men.[5] We know that the Light Company of the 35th fought at Bunker Hill with thirty rank and file.[6] We know from Howe's order

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[1] The 22nd Regiment is included in the garrison by many American writers. This blunder is undoubtedly due to the appearance of Col. Abercrombie's name in the death-roll of Bunker Hill. Abercrombie arrived in Boston on special duty in the spring and was appointed Adjutant, and later to the command of the Corps of Grenadiers. He did not live to rejoin his regiment, which landed in Boston in August.

[2] These three companies of the 18th (Royal Irish) arrived from New York on October 23, 1774 (Diary of Thomas Newell).

[3] Barker, p. 50.

[4] Orders reached Boston in November, 1775, authorizing an increase in the company strength from 38 to 56 men, and providing that two additional companies of 56 men should be recruited in England for each regiment. Howe's Orderly Book, p. 132. Because of slow recruiting this augmentation is only slightly reflected in the strength of Howe's regiments up to the time of his sailing from Halifax to New York.

[5] Lieut. Mackenzie, 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, v. 396.

[6] Roster and losses printed in Historical Magazine, June, 1868, p. 369. All references in these foot-notes to the Historical Magazine are to the number of June, 1868.

of August 3, after the arrival of drafts and enlistments, that some of his regiments had a company strength of 33, some 34, and some 35 men. It is the accumulation of such evidence as this that justifies us in assuming that the average strength of a Regiment of Foot on duty in Boston in June, 1775, did not exceed 340 rank and file. As for the artillery and cavalry we have Howe's figures of October 1. The strength of the army on this basis, then, making no allowance for the sick and unfit for duty, works out as follows:

12 Regiments of 340 men	4080
2 Battalions of Marines of 450 men	900
Incorporated Corps; 9 Companies 18th & 65th Regiments	306
Dragoons (Howe's return October 1)	207
Artillery (Howe's return October 1)	214
64th Regiment at the Castle	300
Or a total rank and file of	6007

Perhaps, in the presence of the three Major Generals, fresh from the battlefields of Parliament, Gage realized that his days were short in his present command; but he was tired of his task and disgusted with the recalcitrant people whom he had honestly hoped to serve. He had tried argument, persuasion, and force, and had failed in each. "The people's minds," he wrote in a private letter to Dartmouth, "are kept so much heated and inflamed, that they are always ripe for everything that is extravagant. Truth is kept from them, and they are too full of prejudice to believe it, if laid before them; and so blind and bigoted, that they cannot see that they have exchanged liberty for tyranny. No people were ever governed more absolutely than those of the *American* Provinces now are, and no reason can be given for their submission, but that it is a tyranny they have erected themselves, as they believe, to avoid greater evils."[1] So thought and so wrote this honest, liberty-loving British officer. If the magic name of Howe, the iron hand of Clinton, or the cultivated blandishments of Burgoyne could bring order out of the present chaos, I believe that Gage was ready, nay, eager to resign his trust.[2]

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[1] Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1097.

[2] Gage's perturbation of mind is reflected in a letter to Lady Gage, mentioned in Hutchinson's Diary and Letters, i. 223.

But for instructions from London, Gage would probably have omitted his proclamation declaring martial law in the Province and offering free pardon to all rebels save John Hancock and Samuel Adams.[1] He doubtless had competent assistance in its preparation. At all events, there are sentences in the document which suggest that they were written by Burgoyne and not by Gage. It required no outside hint to convince the General that the occupation of the Charlestown peninsula and Dorchester Neck was necessary for the safety of Boston. He had been restrained from a move upon either by the insufficiency of his force. He had warned the selectmen of Charlestown that any invasion of the peninsula by the rebel army would be followed promptly by the destruction of the town. This he had hoped would act as a sufficient deterrent to any hostile move in that quarter. With the arrival of reinforcements he determined to put his long delayed project into effect and to occupy Dorchester Neck. The affair was planned for June 18, Burgoyne being our authority. "*Howe* was to land the transports on the Point," he writes to Lord Stanley, " *Clinton* in the centre; and I was to cannonade from the *Causeway* or the *Neck:* each to take advantage of circumstances. The operations must have been very easy." [2]

But at daybreak on the 17th the roar of the Lively's guns awoke Gage, as it did all Boston, and he had barely time to put himself into presentable appearance before a naval officer came running up the steps of the Province House with the message that the rebels were entrenched on Charlestown Heights.

Perhaps we can spare a moment in the midst of a dry, statistical paper, to linger in the hall of the Governor's mansion and mark the awakening activity in the military world. Sleepy-eyed aides and orderlies appear as if by magic and depart on urgent errands, candles begin to twinkle in the dusk of the council chamber, while through the open door the glow of the coming day flames red above the trees beyond the lawn. The hall is filling with eager officers anxious for duty: Burgoyne comes jauntily, with a polite smile for all, but with his heart bitter in the thought that no glory is awaiting him in the presence of three officers of superior rank; Howe arrives, his majestic figure towering above the rest, his swarthy face hard and grim, in

[1] J. T. Adams, Revolutionary New England, 1691–1776, p. 425.

[2] Force, 4 American Archives ii. 1094-1095.

marked contrast to Clinton of the benign and placid countenance; Pigot of the lion heart and diminutive body, appears and disappears among those of loftier port; and here, too, is Percy, breathing quick after a brisk walk from his house at the head of Winter Street. Then, behind closed doors, while the windows rattle to the cannonading in the Charles, and the clock on the Old South across the way clangs out the passing hours, the Council of War enters soberly upon the business of the day.

We have no certain information as to the composition of this Council or any details of its deliberations.[1] We must assume that the General had no satisfactory map of Charlestown. He had not taken the precaution to secure surveys, and Montresor's careful work is of a later date. Doubtless the Council understood the problem as it then existed. Between sunset and sunrise an entrenchment had been thrown up on the hill above Charlestown village. Bunker Hill beyond had not been fortified, and the menace was confined to the work on the nearer and lesser height.

There must have been officers present who exulted in the consciousness that the rebels had placed themselves in a hopeless dilemma and who recalled the adage that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." It is alleged that Clinton urged a landing from Charles River in the vicinity of the Neck. Burgoyne's assurance that Clinton, Howe, and himself had "never differed one jot of military sentiment"[2] may mean that the trio were in accord on this occasion. Had Oliver Cromwell sat in Gage's chair he would doubtless have regarded this rash act of the enemy as a vouchsafing from the Lord who had delivered the Amalekites into his hands and made them the captives of his bow and spear. But Gage was not Cromwell and, rightly or wrongly, he is credited with opposing Clinton's plan. It is possible that a landing on the Mystic side of the Neck was considered; but whatever opposition developed to any descent upon that quarter was based upon sound military convention. The number of men in the redoubt was unknown, but Gage doubtless had reliable data of the American strength at Cambridge

[1] Mr. Frothingham names General Grant as being present. This officer did not arrive in Boston until late in July. See Howe's Orderly Book (London, 1890), p. 57.

[2] Letter to Lord Stanley, Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1094–1095.

and knew that this exceeded that of his entire command. To him the idea of placing a force between two hostile bodies of superior aggregate strength seemed unmilitary and unthinkable.

The more elastic minds doubtless argued that peculiar situations could not be met by rigid rule. They probably urged that the rebels, however numerous, were undisciplined and poorly equipped, and would be helpless against trained troops in the open field. A small force, supported by artillery, could hold the Neck against all comers, while the men in the redoubt, cut off from retreat and supports, must either languish in their isolation or come out and fight at a disadvantage.[1] The army had been yearning to meet these people in a fair stand-up engagement, and no one could deny that the Charlestown peninsula was singularly bare of cover and of trees. For nearly one hundred and fifty years the consensus of military opinion has been that the plan ascribed to Clinton met the requirements of the case. It was finally decided that the men-of-war should cover a landing of the troops in Charlestown to the east of the ferry, and that armed vessels and gondolas should lie in the Charles and enfilade the Neck to retard reinforcements and impede a retreat.[2] This did not mean, as has been so long assumed, that a decision had been made to attack the redoubt in front, or that the sentiment that is said to have appeared among the officers in the field, to "take the bull by the horns," [3] was a creation of the Council of War. The

[1] "Had we have intended to have taken the whole rebel army prisoners, we needed only to have landed in their rear and occupied the high ground above Bunker's-[Breed's] hill. By this movement we shut them up in the peninsula as in a bag, with their rear exposed to the fire of our cannon, and, if we pleased, our musquetry: in short, they must have surrendered instantly or been blown to pieces" (letter of an officer in Boston in Detail and Conduct of the American War, reprinted in Historical Magazine, p. 368). This letter, frequently cited in this paper, was one of the evidences upon which General Howe based his request for a Parliamentary investigation.

[2] The British maps of Page and de Bernière mentioned later in the text show only three ships engaged: the Lively and Falcon, sloops of war, in the stream between Boston and Charlestown, and the Cymetry, an armed transport, off Lechmere's Point, to bombard the Neck. The Somerset and Glasgow may also have been engaged, but their stations are not shown. The drawing of the battle made for Lord Rawdon (see Memorial History of Boston, vol. iii, frontispiece) shows a man-of-war in action, up the stream from the sloops. The gondola was a small gun-boat, musket-proof, and mounting a heavy piece of cannon.

[3] See letter in Detail and Conduct of the American War, in Historical Magazine, pp. 367–368.

landing was to be made at Moulton's Point at the mouth of the Mystic, the most distant point from the redoubt, and the intent was to advance along the river out of range of that work, with a view to occupying a position on the flank and well to the rear of its defenders. Thus, it was probably argued, Clinton's principal aim might still be achieved; and it must be remembered that when the Council broke up, and for some hours thereafter, there was not a Provincial soldier to impede the British march along this line straight to the summit of Bunker Hill.[1] The New Hampshire troops were then loafing about their camps in Medford, while Knowlton and his handful of Connecticut men were still toiling on the redoubt. The one incomprehensible blunder of the Council was their neglect to provide naval support for the attack they had planned. The ships in the Charles and in the harbor were of no value to a column advancing along the Mystic shore. A flood tide was running strong up that river and all things favored naval co-operation on that side. What the Council might have provided from the motive of "making assurance double sure" developed later into a vital necessity of the situation.

By nine o'clock, the battery on Copp's Hill, reinforced by three 24-pounders, had opened fire on the redoubt. The ships were still engaged and the admiral[2] was busy in executing the orders from Headquarters. Howe was to command the landing force, accompanied by Brigadier Pigot. Percy was assigned to Boston Neck to superintend an artillery attack upon the Roxbury lines. If you examine the General Orders for that morning,[3] you will find that the troops assigned to Howe comprised all the Light Infantry and Grenadiers, and the 5th, 38th, 43rd, and 52nd Regiments. "The 10 Eldest Companys of Grenadiers and the 10 Eldest Companys of Light In-

[1] "At 7 oclock the Grenrs. and Light Infantry had orders to keep in readiness" (Barker, Diary, p. 60).

[2] Thomas Graves was appointed to command on the North American station in 1774. On May 26, he was saluted by the ships in the harbor on being promoted to Vice-Admiral of the White. There was much friction between him and the military authorities in Boston, and he is freely criticized in the correspondence of Burgoyne and other officers. The truth seems to be that he was sent out with an inadequate force, his ships were undermanned for war conditions, and he lacked light craft capable of operating against the Americans in shallow waters. He was superseded in January, 1776.

[3] Howe's Orderly Book, p. 1.

fantry (Exclusive of those of the Reg^ts lately landed)" were to embark from "the long wharf," with the 5th and 38th Regiments. The remaining companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, with the 43rd and 52nd Regiments, were to enter their boats at the North Battery. These troops were ordered "to parade at Half after 11 o'clock, with their Arms, Ammunition, Blanketts," and provisions. It was provided that a subaltern, sergeant, corporal, drummer, and twenty privates from each corps, should be left "for the Security of their respective Encampments."

It was further ordered that, upon the embarkation of this force, the 47th Regiment and the First Battalion of Marines should march to the North Battery "and be ready to Embark there when Order'd," or, in other words, stand in reserve.

With this knowledge we can proceed to our estimate of the strength of Howe's command, which, for more than a century, has been the subject of much unintelligent surmise. I shall figure that the companies took the field with an average strength of thirty rank and file. This is based upon my original estimate of the garrison, deducting two men for the encampment guard and two more for the sick and unfit for duty. This last allowance is probably insufficient, but, absolute accuracy being impossible, my aim is to achieve Howe's possible maximum strength. There came, then, to the long wharf —

20 companies, Grenadiers and Light Infantry, of 30 men	600
The 5th and 38th Battalions, 16 companies of 30 men	480
Or a total embarking at the long wharf of	1080

At the North Battery had gathered the 43rd and 52nd Regiments and the remaining companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, or, those of the First and Second Battalions of Marines, and of the 35th and 63rd Regiments.[1] The 49th was not represented because its flank companies were still at sea. For some reason, perhaps be-

[1] Dawson names these flank companies as those of the 18th, 22nd, and 63rd Regiments. He did not know that the Marine battalions were organized with Grenadiers and Light Infantry. The 18th Regiment, as we have seen, consisted of only three companies serving in the Incorporated Corps. Their losses in the field fell upon men drafted from these companies to fill up the flank companies of the 65th, also serving with the Incorporated Corps. The 22nd, as stated in a previous note, was not in Boston. The mention of the 63rd marks the full measure of Dawson's accuracy.

cause of a shortage of boats, the flank companies of the 35th were the only ones to embark with the regiments from the Battery.[1] We should therefore figure the detachment leaving this point as follows:

The 43rd and 52nd Battalions, 16 companies of 30 men	480
35th Regiment, 2 companies Grenadiers and Light Infantry	60
Or a total of	540

Thus we have, in round numbers, a force of 1600 men under Howe's command, landing at Moulton's Point under cover of the fire of the ships. I have estimated this detachment separately from the reserve, as I expect to show that it was upon the former that the brunt of the battle fell and four-fifths of the loss. The reserve, I believe, was not involved in the early and destructive stage of the action, being ordered up only in season for the final operations against the redoubt.

When the 47th Regiment and the Marines came swinging down to the Battery to the music of their fifes and drums, they were doubtless surprised to find the six flank companies that had been assigned to Howe's landing force still awaiting transportation. Including these, we must compute the strength of the reserve in some such way as this:

47th Battalion, 8 companies of 30 men	240
First Battalion of Marines (complete), 10 companies of 40 men	400
Second Battalion of Marines, 2 companies Grenadiers and Light Infantry of 40 men	80
63rd Regiment, 2 companies Grenadiers and Light Infantry of 30 men	60
Or a total of	780

There was, then, including this reserve, a force of about 2400 men placed at Howe's command. This is not in conflict with Gage's official statement, "the whole when in conjunction making a body of something above 2000 men." [2] American estimates of the

[1] This is indicated on de Bernière's map, the flank companies of the 35th being the only ones to serve with the twenty "eldest companies" in Howe's first detachment. Dawson refers to some specific operations performed by this company, and cites de Bernière as his authority. He was wrong again, basing his story on Swett's adaptation of de Bernière's map. Swett took some strange and unwarrantable liberties with that historic document.

[2] It is probable that Howe's force was closer to Gage's figure than I have estimated. My figure of sick and unfit for duty amounts to only 5 per cent of the garrison, while on October 1, according to Howe's return, it exceeded 20 per

British strength naturally ran into all sorts of extravagance, and were as wild, indeed, as British guesses as to the force of their adversaries. Men were found "who counted the troops as they left the wharves in Boston," with results ranging from 3500 to 5000 men. I can conceive of no more unreliable evidence than this, but it is true that many worthy and able historians have harbored the suspicion that, both as to numbers and losses, Gage falsified his returns. "Neither British accounts, nor the British plans of the battle," says Frothingham, "mention all the regiments that were in the field. Thus, the movements of the second battalion of marines are not given; yet the official table of loss states that it had seven killed and thirty wounded." [1]

Before commenting specifically upon this assertion, I wish to say a word upon a problem that in one way or another has confused our most intelligent writers. Their doubts and perplexities have been largely due to a lack of understanding of the composition of a British regiment of the day and of the peculiar status and functions of its companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry. I do not recall any attempt by an American writer to clarify this situation, and perhaps now, a hundred and fifty years after the battle, a few words upon this subject will not be regarded as premature.

A British regiment serving in America at this time consisted of ten companies, including one of Grenadiers and one of Light Infantry. These were commonly known as the flank companies, from their position in the line, and consisted of picked men. It was the custom, though its wisdom was criticized then and is not clear to us now, when regiments were brigaded, to detach these companies and to form them into provisional battalions for special service. The flank companies in Boston were embodied in two separate corps on June 4, and if we had been in the town during the following day, we might have visited the two new encampments, where we should have found Colonel Abercrombie commanding the Grenadiers, and Colonel Clark in charge of the Light Infantry. The effect of this was to reduce the line regiments to battalions of eight companies each. A curious anomaly existed that is responsible for much of the

cent. It is also probable that the flank companies averaged more than thirty men and the battalion companies less than that number.

[1] Siege, p. 191.

confusion in scholarly minds. Losses suffered in action by the two corps were not assigned to the corps, but to the regiment which carried the victim upon its rolls.

Now Mr. Frothingham understood this problem, but he was not aware that the marine battalions were organized on the same basis as the line regiments, with companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry. The Second Marines was not in the field, but its flank companies, in common with those of every other regiment, were engaged, and that is why the parent battalion appears as a sufferer in the action. In proof of this, if proof is necessary, a comparison of the battalion roster of the Second Marines [1] with their list of officers killed and wounded in the battle shows that every officer of this battalion who was hit, was either of the Light Infantry or the Grenadiers. Every regiment in Boston suffered casualties at Bunker Hill, and yet the fact remains that only six regiments had more than two companies engaged. A mastery of this problem should convince the most doubting Thomas that the British reports are reliable and that Gage as a statistician was neither a knave nor a fool.

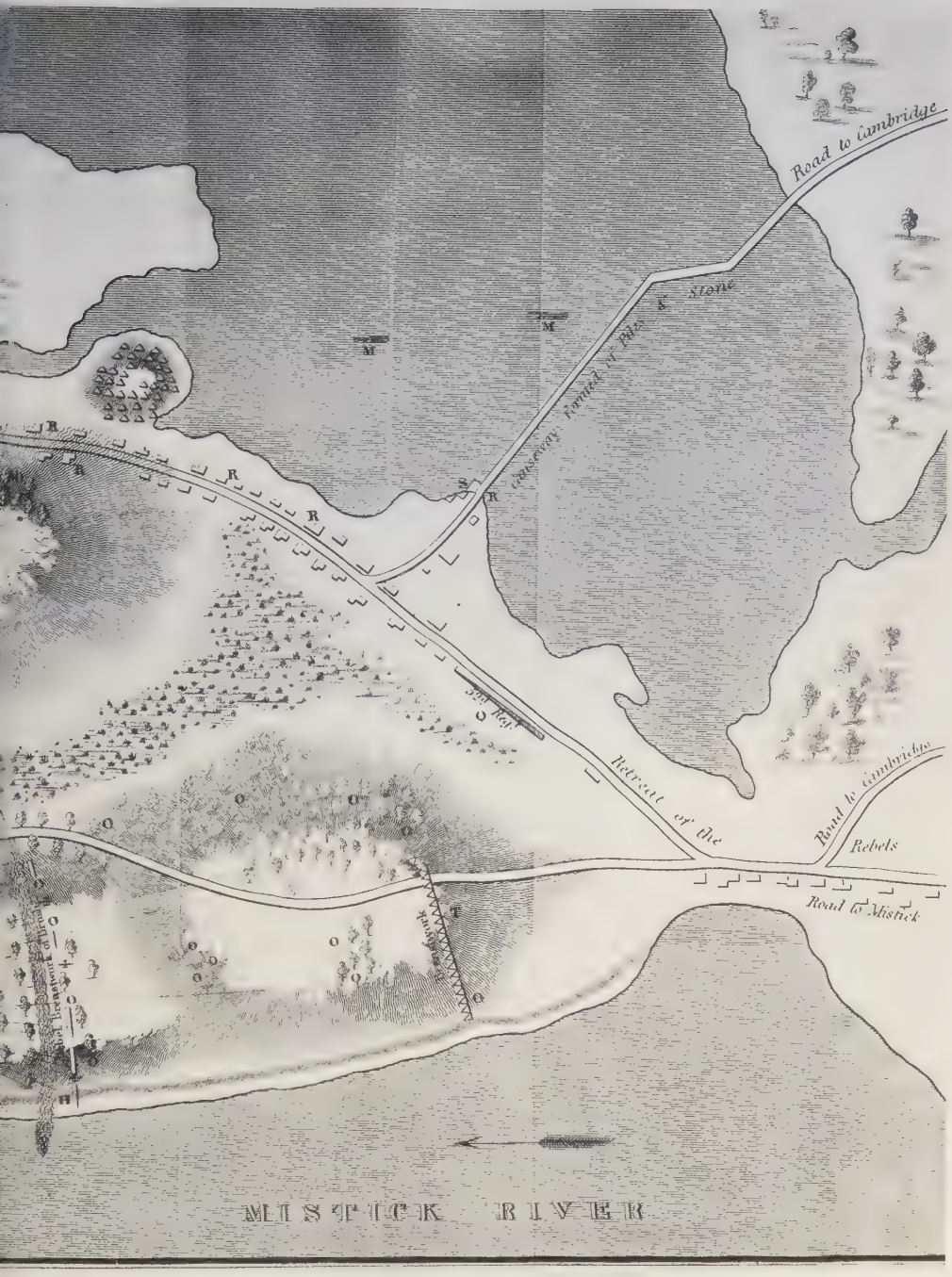
The very best British information that exists on the battle is to be found in two maps. The first is by Lieutenant Page,[2] who was Howe's staff engineer on the field, and based his details on Captain Montresor's admirable survey of the peninsula. This appeared in London in 1777. The other, first published in the Analectic Magazine in 1818, reproduces a sketch by Lieutenant de Bernière, whose abilities as a draughtsman were held in such high esteem by Gage.[3] The sketch itself was found among the Lieutenant's papers after the British evacuation of Philadelphia. While based upon the work of a British officer, this map is said to be the first to be en-

[1] This roster is printed in S. A. Drake's Bunker Hill, pp. 74–75.

[2] Sir Thomas Hyde Page (1746–1821) was appointed Lieutenant of the Royal Engineers in 1774. He served on Howe's staff at Bunker Hill, where he was wounded. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1783 and was knighted the same year in recognition of his distinguished military services. In 1784 he was transferred to the invalid corps of the Engineers. He published several important works on professional subjects between 1784 and 1801. A portrait of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds is in existence.

[3] He executed orders in February, 1775, "to go through the counties of Suffolk and Worcester, and sketch the roads as we went, for the information of Gen. Gage." See General Gage's Instructions, etc., 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 205.

Engraved for The



SKETCH OF THE ACTION ON THE

HEIGHTS OF CHARLESTOWN

June 17th 1775, between his MAJESTY'S Troops, under the command, of MAJOR GEN.L HOWE, and a large body of

AMERICAN REBELS

Copied, by I.A. Chapman, from an Original sketch, taken by Henry De Berniere.

ty of Massachusetts

graved in America of the Battle of Bunker Hill.[1] It lacks the geographical accuracy of Page's work, but is of great value as showing the location and movements of certain military units not depicted on the other. The maps differ in certain minor details, but are in agreement on all essential matters.

It is probable that Howe was landing on Moulton's Point between one and two o'clock, and that, shortly after, he stood, with his 1600 men drawn up in three lines, on the little hill as indicated on Page's map. Somewhat in advance, eight field guns are portrayed in action, and this is in accordance with the statement in the History of the Royal Artillery that four light 6-pounders, four light 12-pounders, and four 5½ inch howitzers were landed with the detachment. From American sources of a dubiously late date we learn that the troops fell to on their midday rations, and to the defenders of the redoubt they seemed in no haste to enter upon the business of the day. Howe's first move was to throw forward four companies of Light Infantry where, close to the Mystic, they stood sheltered by "a break in the ground."[2] The 5th and 38th Battalions under Pigot's direction moved across the Charlestown road and took a position about a quarter of a mile southeast of the redoubt, where

[1] A portion of de Bernière's map is reproduced facing the opposite page. The legend reads as follows:

REFERENCES

A.A.	First position, where the troops remained until the re-inforcements arrived
B.B.	Second Position
C.C. &c.	Ground on which the different Regiments marched, to, form the line
D.D.	Direction in which the attack was made, upon the Redoubt & Breastworks
E.E.	Position of part of the 47th and Marines to Silence, the fire, of a Barn at E.
F.	First Position, of the Cannon
G.	Second Position, of the cannon in advancing, with the Grenadiers, but Stopt by the Marsh
H.	Breast work formed of Pickets, Hay, Stones &c. with the pieces of Cannon
I.I.	Light Infantry, advancing along the Shore to force the right of the Breast work H.
K.L.	The Lively and Falcon, hauled close to shore to Rake, the low grounds before the troops advanced
M.M.	Gondolas, that fired on the Rebels in their retreat
N.	Battery of Cannon, Howitzers & Mortars, on Cop's Hill, that battered the Redoubt and set fire to Charles-Town
O.O.O.&c.	The Rebels behind all the Stone walls, Trees, and brush-wood, &c their numbers uncertain, having constantly large Columns to re-inforce them, during the action
P	Place, from whence the Grenadiers received a very heavy fire
Q	Place, of the 52d Regiment, on the night of the 17th
R.&c.	47th Regiment in Charles-Town, on the night of the 17th
S	Detachments, in the Mill, & 2 Store Houses
T	Breastwork thrown up by the remainder of the Troops, on the night of the 17th
Note	The distance from Boston to Charles-town, is about 550 Yards, over which a bridge has since been built

[2] See Page's map. Copied by Stedman and Frothingham.

they formed the left wing "covered by the rising of the Hill." [1] This detachment is shown by Page with its left refused, in deference to the fire from Charlestown.[2] The artillery was then pushed forward into the wide gap between these outposts, and Page represents seven guns in action, with their fire directed upon the breastwork and the lightly protected line running at half right angles to it.

This was Howe's first position. He was cautiously feeling his way instead of advancing boldly over the open land in front. These preliminaries were doubtless due to a remarkable thing that had occurred. A body of Provincials, with intuitions born of common sense and their Indian instinct for finding or creating cover, seized upon the line of a fence-topped stone wall that extended from a point back of the redoubt to the shore of the Mystic, and by singularly rapid methods proceeded to convert it into one of the famous ramparts of all time, which has gone down in American history by the name of "the rail fence." In an incredibly short time, the open land sloping up to Bunker Hill had become obstructed by a defensive line, the problem considered by the Council of War had entirely changed its character, and Howe's contemplated advance was challenged and opposed.

Was Howe dilatory? Was it due to his inertia or indecision that a golden opportunity was thus allowed to pass? In our confusion as to time at this crisis, he is probably entitled to a verdict of not proven, and it must of course be remembered that the debarkation of a large body of troops from small boats and their ordering for attack is both a difficult and a complicated piece of business. He had doubtless intended to divert the defenders of the redoubt while giving them a wide berth, but as he stood waiting at Moulton's Point, he had seen the redoubt come down to the Mystic.

No wonder that he sent to Boston for his reserves. Probably

[1] See Page's map.

[2] The burning of Charlestown occasioned not only bitter Provincial denunciation against "those bloody incendiaries," but expressions of regret in the British camp. On the other hand, there is no reason to question that it was a justifiable military act. British evidence is overwhelming that the houses were used to harass the British flank, and the Committee of Safety practically confirmed this fact by admitting that Provincial regiments were in the place shortly before it was fired. Our New England ancestors stolidly refused to concede that the use of houses as fortresses constituted a valid reason for their destruction in battle.

before this he had, on Pigot's request, sent his order for the burning of Charlestown. So far as we know, it never occurred to him to appeal for naval aid in the Mystic. To be sure, the afternoon was wearing on and some delays might be involved; he doubtless believed that the rebels were being constantly reinforced; and yet it would seem that he might at least have appealed for one or two of those gondolas, of the sort operating so aimlessly in the Charles, a few shots from which on the Mystic side would have rendered the rail fence untenable.[1] Perhaps he held lightly the crude shelter that had sprung up so suddenly on his front. Perhaps he was influenced by the enthusiasm of his officers and the slogan that arose "to take the bull by the horns."

But even then it is probable that Howe was hopeful of avoiding a front attack, and his purpose is still clear, either to steal round the Provincial flank by the Mystic beach, or to break through this flank on a narrow front if it had become too late to turn it. De Bernière shows clearly the long thin column of Light Infantry moving along the Mystic shore, each company indicated by its regimental number. Page shows in dotted lines an advance on a broader front along the same route, illustrative, according to his key, of "the Order our Troops would probably have Attack'd in, had our Light Infantry been able to penetrate." This interlocking evidence of the two maps shows clearly Howe's purpose, and then Page indicates the next move: "Grenadiers taking Ground on the Left of the Light Infantry which had not been able to force the enemy."

I believe that Dawson was right when, in 1868, he advanced the theory that this Light Infantry attack was a prologue to the battle,

[1] "Had we only wanted to drive them from their ground, without the loss of a man, the *Cymetry*, transport, which drew little water and mounted eighteen nine-pounders, could have been towed up the Mystic channel, and brought to within musket-shot of their left flank, which was quite naked; and she could have lain, water-borne, at the lowest ebb tide; or, one of our covered boats, musket-proof, carrying a heavy piece of cannon, might have been rowed close in, and one charge on their uncovered flank would have dislodged them in a second" (letter in Detail and Conduct of the American War).

According to Lieut. Barker (Diary, p. 62), three of these small boats went up the Mystic on the 18th. His comment is interesting: "had these boats been with us on Saturday at the time of the Attack they cou'd have been of great use, as they wou'd have taken a part of the Rebels intrenchment in flank and in their retreat wou'd have cut off numbers; instead of that they were on the other side and of no manner of use."

and I also believe that its disastrous issue involved Howe at last in the problems and dangers of a front attack upon positions defended, as he believed, by a force three times as great as his own. We have little to guide us in our quest for details of the development of the action in this quarter. This part of the field was hidden from the people on the ships and from all observers in Boston. Perhaps the discomfiture of the light companies converted what was meant to be a mere demonstration by the Grenadiers into a serious attack upon the fence.[1] We must remember, however, that Howe's whole force on this front did not exceed seven hundred men and had been crippled at the outset by the heavy losses inflicted upon his light troops. Whatever happened here, it is evident that the serious fighting was soon over, Howe drawing off a portion of his Grenadiers to assist the battalions in front of the breastwork.[2]

It is to be noted that, with the exception of the Light Infantry,[3] the troops both here and in front of the redoubt were brought up in line, firing as they advanced. They were in heavy marching order, each man encumbered with a superfluous weight estimated at more than one hundred pounds. They made their way through stout standing grass that reached to their waists, and through, over, and under strong fences that impeded their progress and broke up their formations. We are informed that the infantry were halted from time to time in their slow march [4] to allow the artillery to fire and we

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[1] The letter in Detail and Conduct of the American War has it that "Our Light-infantry were served up in Companies against the grass fence, without being able to penetrate — indeed how could we penetrate? Most of our Grenadiers and Light-infantry, the moment of presenting themselves lost three-fourths, and many nine-tenths of their men." This would certainly indicate that the Grenadiers were closely and disastrously engaged.

[2] See Page's map. The Grenadiers were supported on their left by the 43rd and 52nd Battalions.

[3] The following picturesque account must refer to the Light Infantry attack: "They advanced in open order, the men often twelve feet apart in the front, but very close after one another in extraordinary deep or long files. As fast as the front man was shot down, the next stepped forward into his place; but our men dropt them so fast, they were a long time coming up. It was surprising how they would step over their dead bodies, as though they had been logs of wood" (Rivington's Gazetteer for August 3, 1775, in Historical Magazine, p. 390).

[4] "Our manner of attacking in front was ruinous. In advancing, not a shot should have been fired, as it retarded the troops, whose movement should have been as rapid as possible. They should not have been brought up in line, but in

have it on the best of unofficial authority that the artillery failed at critical moments. Howe seems to have had no knowledge of the physical features of the Charlestown peninsula.[1] Some of the guns became mired in a swamp, as is clearly shown on de Bernière's map. Worse than that, it is alleged that the 6-pounder companies found 12-pound ball in their side boxes. It is further alleged, and this is of minor importance, that this cruel blunder was due to the carelessness of Colonel Cleaveland, Chief of Artillery, who wasted too much time in company with a daughter of Master Lovell of the Latin School.[2] Cleaveland's report, made to the Master General, seems equivocal: "I sent sixty-six rounds to each gun, and not more than half was fired." [3] The question was one of calibre, not of quantity.

On Page's map the artillery is shown in its second position. Only three pieces are in action. In the rear are scattered four idle guns as though abandoned in the fields. Can we accept this as confirming the undoubted fact that the Royal Artillery had more than its share of trouble at Bunker Hill?

While Howe was so fruitlessly employed on the right, Pigot was advancing slowly upon the redoubt. Charlestown was then well alight, and the smoke of the conflagration was drifting over the battlefield before a southwest breeze.[4] After a prolonged musketry duel,

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columns, with Light-infantry in the intervals, to keep up a smart fire against the top of the breastwork. If this had been done, their works would have been carried in three minutes, with not a tenth part of our present loss" (letter in Detail and Conduct of the American War). General Dearborn's comment made in 1818 is interesting: "It is a most extraordinary fact that the British did not make a single charge during the Battle, which if attempted would have been decisive and fatal to the Americans as they did not carry into the field fifty bayonets." We are not using Dearborn as a witness, but this is in harmony with what we learn from contemporaneous accounts.

[1] "We went to battle without even reconnoitring the position of the enemy" (letter in the Detail and Conduct of the War).

[2] Id.

[3] History of the Royal Artillery. See S. A. Drake's Bunker Hill, p. 35.

[4] There was much conflicting gossip in 1775 as to the time that Charlestown was fired, estimates varying from ten o'clock in the morning to some hours after the battle. The real facts, however, are clear. The Committee of Safety says that it was at the "instant" the British began their advance; General Heath, "at the time the British made their attack;" Barker, "just about the beginning of the attack." J. Waller, an officer on a British ship, writes: "when the attack was first made" (letter in my possession). There is no good evidence contradicting these positive statements. General Gage says, "during the action."

the fire from the redoubt ceased, and not only Pigot but the spectators in Boston were deceived into believing that the Provincials were abandoning their works. But as the British approached close under the parapet, they were met by a sudden and shattering fire that sent them reeling back for one hundred and fifty yards.[1] The British general with his 1600 men had failed upon both flanks and had been fought to a standstill. It seems clear that up to this time his reserve had not been engaged. This is attested by Burgoyne's statements in his personal letter to Lord Stanley, and is unmistakably confirmed by Clinton.

We know that when Howe embarked, Clinton and Burgoyne strolled idly to Copp's Hill, where the artillery was at work. The rail fence was invisible from this point, and if they saw the smoke rising from behind Breed's Hill, they could hardly have appreciated its significance. Burgoyne's enthusiastic comment that "*Howe's* disposition was exceeding soldierlike," [2] doubtless referred to the pageantry of Pigot's advance upon the redoubt. Howe's request for the burning of Charlestown had been promptly executed. "They were also exceedingly hurt by musketry from *Charlestown,*" says Burgoyne, "though *Clinton* and I did not perceive it until *Howe* sent us word by a boat, and desired us to set fire to the Town, which was immediately done; we threw a parcel of shells, and the whole was instantly in flames." It is probable that at this time the reserve was already afloat. Half an hour later came Pigot's reverse, which seemed to Burgoyne the critical moment of the day. To use his own words, "*Howe's* left were staggered." At this moment both of our generals saw that the reserve was standing idle where they had landed. "We perceived them on the beach," says Burgoyne, "seeming in embarrassment what way to march. *Clinton* then, next for business, took the part without waiting for orders, to throw himself into a boat to head them; he arrived in time to be of service; the day ended with glory."

[1] See Prescott's statement in my paper on "The American Defence," p. 120, above. The statement of the British Headquarters that Pigot's men retreated by order stirred some caustic criticism in the garrison. "Observe, our men were not driven back; they actually retreated by orders. Great pains have been taken to huddle up this matter" (letter in Detail and Conduct of the War).

[2] Quotations from Burgoyne in this paragraph are from his letter to Lord Stanley, Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1094-1095.

Clinton's comments are confirmatory and modest, and appear in his letter of July 23 to Lord Moira: "The hopes of being of a little service where I thought I saw an opportunity brought me to the assistance of my friend Gen. Howe *en volontaire;* the affair however was in great measure decided on my getting there, and I had little more to do, than offer my assistance and advice wherever that could be of use."[1] In his copy of Stedman's History of the American War, Clinton also made this marginal note, "G. C. saw a moment in which He thought He might be of use. His volunteer services were acknowledged by G. Howe. The appearance of a Reinforcement Encouraged the one possibly and discouraged the other."

It seems to me that the statements of these important witnesses clearly establish two facts — first, that at the time of Pigot's repulse the reserve had not entered the battle; and second, that Clinton crossed the river to lead them. It is also indicated that when Clinton landed these men had gone forward, he finding the affair "in great measure decided" upon his arrival.[2]

Howe had already suffered such losses that the entrance of these fresh troops into the action did little more than reëstablish his original strength. The Marines and the 47th Regiment pushed on between Charlestown and the redoubt and attacked from that side. The other battalions are shown on the British maps as uniting in a concentric assault upon the work. The artillery had finally surmounted its difficulties and gained a position where it breached the

[1] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlviii. 118.

[2] Further confirmation of these facts will be found in the letter in Detail and Conduct of the American War and in a letter printed in Mrs. Stirling's Annals of a Yorkshire House (London, 1911), ii. 13, written by Major Sill (misprinted there as Till). The Major crossed with the flank companies of his regiment (63rd) and met wounded men retreating. Swett seems to have been the originator of the idea that the troops whom Clinton and Burgoyne saw standing on the beach were refugees from Pigot's column. He assumed that the reinforcement that Clinton accompanied or followed was a third detachment. Being puzzled by the losses of the Second Marines in the casualty list he ventured to make marines of this mythical force, with Major Small in command. Small was a major in the 42nd Regiment (Highlanders) and was on special duty in Boston. He was appointed Brigade Major of Pigot's Brigade in 1774 and served in that capacity at Bunker Hill. I find no authority for Swett's suppositions, and no evidence whatever that any troops save the detachments mentioned in the Morning Orders crossed the river during the battle.

breastwork[1] and partly enfiladed the lightly fortified line beyond. Driven from here after a stubborn resistance the Provincials fled in all directions, some into the redoubt, leaving a wide gap between that work and the rail fence. The British advanced rapidly into this undefended area and poured a withering cross fire upon Prescott's men as they rushed out of the sally port.[2] So Howe, who had planned to gain the battle on his right, finally broke through on his left.

The defenders of the rail fence, who had been held in check by certain Grenadier companies and the remnants of the Light Infantry, held their lines until Prescott's fugitives came abreast and then retired,[3] preserving some measure of order and maintaining a fire that to some extent served to cover the retreat.[4] There was no vigorous pursuit. Clinton still appears as the man of action in the military gossip of the day, and it is claimed that he urged pursuit and pushing on to Cambridge. Now this is what the Provincial leaders dreaded, their army being scattered and demoralized, and Cambridge, to quote Artemas Ward, "being entirely undefended." While Howe's force was, of course, shattered and exhausted, the Marines and the 47th Battalion were available for this business, and all the troops in Boston were standing to their arms. But the hour was late and the opportunity, if opportunity it was, was allowed to pass.

The British followed their enemy in leisurely fashion, and it was nearly six o'clock before they occupied the Neck. Five of the six Provincial cannon remained in their hands and all of the entrenching equipment. The only joy that night was in the British lines, and the cheering of the troops as they entered the redoubt was plainly heard in Boston.[5] But this enthusiasm was short-lived and did not

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[1] This is doubtless where Captain Harris of the 5th Regiment was dangerously wounded after two unsuccessful attempts to mount the wall (Lushington's Life of Lord Harris, pp. 54–56).

[2] In this advance the troops suffered heavily for a few moments when they came within range of the fire of the Connecticut men at the rail fence. See my article on "The American Defence," p. 126, above.

[3] See joint letter written by Capt. Chester and Lieut. Webb, June 19, 1775, 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiv. 62.

[4] "The retreat was no flight: it was even covered with bravery and military skill" (Burgoyne to Lord Rochfort, in de Fonblanque's Burgoyne, p. 147). Curiously enough most American narratives are in disagreement with Burgoyne and suggest a rout.

[5] Letter of Samuel Paine, Historical Magazine, pp. 440–442.

survive the realization of what that day's conquest had cost. Then in the British correspondence the anger and discontent in the garrison are plainly evidenced. Here is a sample: "We are all wrong at the head. My mind cannot help dwelling upon our cursed mistakes. Such ill conduct at the first out-set argues a gross ignorance of the most common rules of the profession, and gives us, for the future, anxious forebodings. I have lost some of those I most valued. This madness or ignorance nothing can excuse. The brave men's lives were wantonly thrown away. Our conductor as much murdered them as if he had cut their throats himself, on Boston Common. Had he fallen, ought we to have regretted him?"[1]

We must remember that the events we have been reviewing covered a front of only half a mile, and from the first Light Infantry attack to the capture of the redoubt there was consumed probably not more than an hour of time.[2] Yet on that front and in those short sixty minutes the British casualties amounted to 1054 officers and men.[3] There is no evidence that any other troops save the Grenadiers and Light Infantry were employed in the attacks upon the rail fence, and the loss in these corps amounted to 465 men out of an estimated strength of less than 700, or nearly seventy per cent. In the four battalions that crossed with Howe, aggregating less than a thousand men, the loss, deducting that of their flank companies, was about 246, or nearly thirty per cent. This makes the total casualties in the first detachment 711 out of 1600 rank and file engaged. The reserve which arrived in season to reëstablish Pigot's wing and to assist in the reduction of the redoubt, lost 166 out of a strength of about 800 men. It appears that the bulk of these casualties fell upon the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of that detachment, only about 50 being sustained by the battalion companies of the 47th and the First Marines. These figures take no account of the non-commissioned officers and musicians included in the British official total, nor of the 92 commissioned officers who suffered, out of perhaps 250 on the field.

In the British correspondence we find general admiration expressed

[1] Letter in Detail and Conduct of the American War.

[2] For duration of the battle, see my paper on "The American Defence," p. 128, above.

[3] Gage's Report, 226 killed, 828 wounded.

for the heroism of the troops and much praise of the courage of their adversaries, commendation of "the Troops of *Putnam*, who fought so gallantly *pro aris et focis*," [1] — sentiments that Lord North might have regarded as unbecoming, perhaps treasonable, in a British officer. But there is one letter (presumably intercepted) printed in Force, from "an officer on board one of the King's ships," that should be read in connection with the losses in the field that we have just reviewed. "Nothing can exceed the panic and apparent dislike of most of the King's troops to enter into this engagement; even at the landing, several attempted to run away, and five actually took to their heels in order to join the Americans, but were presently brought back, and two of them were immediately hung up *in terrorem* to the rest." [2] I think if anything of this sort had happened, we should have heard of it from other critical quarters, and the balance of this letter is such an incoherent distortion of well-established facts as to exclude the writer from the ranks of credible witnesses. But what shall we say to this, penned by no less a person than General John Burgoyne? It is addressed to Lord Rochfort, Secretary of State for the Colonies; its contents are to be confidential with the recipient and "not pass even in a whisper . . . to more than *one* person." No wonder that the General trembles as he writes, —

> The zeal and intrepidity of the officers, which was without exception exemplary, was ill seconded by the private men. Discipline, not to say courage, was wanting. In the critical moment of carrying the redoubt, the officers of some corps were almost alone; and what was the worst part of the confusion of these corps — all the wounds of the officers were not received from the enemy. I do not mean to convey any suspicion of backwardness in the cause of Government among the soldiery, which ignorant people in England are apt to imagine; and as little would I be understood to imply any dislike or ill will to their officers. . . . I only mean to represent that the men . . . being ill grounded in the great points of discipline. . . . it will require some training under such generals as Howe and Clinton before they can prudently be entrusted in many exploits against such odds as the conduct and spirit of the leaders enabled them in this instance to overcome.[3]

[1] Force, 4 American Archives, ii. 1092–1093.

[2] Historical Magazine, p. 360.

[3] De Fonblanque, Life and Correspondence of Gen. John Burgoyne, pp. 147–148.

Burgoyne's tribute to the officers was richly deserved; but did he stoop to the vilification of the common soldier in order to convince the King that he had one major-general in America who was shocked at deficiencies there and was quite competent to set them right? He was a wise and humane soldier, but a jealous subordinate, hungry for power. As he sat in his quarters writing his confidential note to that noble lord in England, nearly nine hundred of the men he was defaming were lying in new-made graves or suffering pain from wounds received in battle. That these men recoiled and broke under the terrible fire, which so far exceeded that of Minden, is an undoubted fact; that the officers had to exert almost superhuman efforts to prevent panic and disorder has never been denied. But if "discipline, not to say courage" were lacking in this fire-smitten rank and file, it would be interesting to know what quality or influence it was that enabled them to endure undefeated the terrors of such an appalling test.

Only eight months later, February 20, 1776, Burgoyne was sitting once more in his seat in Parliament. To Colonel Barré's charge that because of detestation of the American service the common soldiers had "grossly misbehaved at Bunker Hill," he sprang to his feet and returned an angry denial. "No men on earth," he declared, "ever behaved with more spirit and perserverance, till they forced the enemy out of their entrenchments." [1] So we can appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober.

In this review I think we have determined from indisputable official authority the military units serving in the Boston garrison in June, 1775. From equally reliable sources it has been possible to make a close approximation of the numerical strength of these units and the size of the force employed by Howe in his attack. The theory that the Council of War did not order an attack in front and that Howe had no such idea in mind when he crossed the Charles, must stand or fall upon the evidence offered in its support, as must that other theory respecting the brief and limited activities of the reserve. While we do not know and never shall know the truth in regard to the Provincial strength in the battle, one thing is certain, that Howe so managed his affairs as to be drawn at last into a front attack upon entrenched lines stoutly defended by a superior force.

Having in mind the obtuseness of the British High Command, the

[1] London Chronicle, February 24, 1776, p. 186.

misfortunes and tactical mistakes of the commander in the field, and, above all, the amazing courage and steadiness of those rustic defenders of the redoubt and the rail fence, I conceive that the conquest of Breed's Hill by the King's troops was a very gallant feat of arms. It was such deeds as this, repeated in another century, that wrung from the French Marshal [1] the admission that the British infantry was the best in the world, and drew from him also that supplementary grateful prayer thanking God that there was so little of it.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD made the following communication:

At the January meeting of this Society in 1915, Mr. Matthews called attention to an announcement of the publication of an edition of Morton's New England's Memorial, which appeared in a note to the Discourse delivered by the Rev. James Flint, at Plymouth, December 22, 1815, and published in Boston in 1816. Mr. Flint said in part in his note —

> To those who may wish to furnish themselves with a minute and full historical account of the Pilgrims, and of the Plymouth colony and church, down to the present period, we would recommend the "New-England Memorial," recently republished, with notes and an ample appendix, by the Hon. Judge Davis, of Boston.[2]

At the same meeting of this Society I communicated a paper in support of the statement in my introduction to the facsimile reprint of the New England's Memorial, published by the Club of Odd Volumes in 1903,[3] that there was no edition of the New England's Memorial between 1772 and 1826. I called attention to an agreement made by a Committee of the First Church in Plymouth with Joseph Avery, a Plymouth bookseller, dated the "Eighth day February A.D. 1814," and suggested that Mr. Flint had been informed, either by the Committee or Mr. Avery, of this Agreement for the publication of an edition of the New England's Memorial.[4]

I recently received from Mr. Albert Thorndike a number of papers from the collection of Judge John Davis, and among them was a

[1] Attributed to Marshal Soult.

[2] See our Publications, xviii. 15–17.

[3] New-Englands Memoriall, by Nathaniel Morton; with an introduction by Arthur Lord. Boston, 1903.

[4] See our Publications, xviii. 17–26, especially 21–23.

letter to Judge Davis from Nahum Mitchell, the historian of Bridgewater and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1818 to 1853.[1] The letter is dated "Bridgewater, 26 Feb. 1816," the year of the publication of Mr. Flint's Discourse. In that letter Mr. Mitchell writes:

> Mr. Flint's apology for saying anything about the publication of the Memorial is that your Brother William requested him to do it and whatever is said he received from him. Mr. Flint is very sorry that he said anything about it.

"Brother William," therein referred to, was William Davis of Plymouth (1758–1826), an older brother of Judge Davis and a man of influence and importance in Plymouth. He had been a Selectman, Representative in the General Court, a member of the Executive Council, and President of the Plymouth Bank.[2] Mr. Flint had what he was justified in believing to be excellent authority for the statement in his note, which apparently disturbed Judge Davis, and I am glad to have this opportunity to withdraw any reflection which I may have made previously upon the Committee of the First Church and the bookseller, Joseph Avery.[3]

The agreement between the Committee and Avery, to which I have referred, was executed in duplicate, one original for the Committee, the other for Mr. Avery.[4] Among those papers which came to me from Mr. Thorndike I found, to my surprise and gratification, the original agreement which belonged to Joseph Avery. This bears the following endorsement —

> Plym° October 8–1822. The within contract is assigned to John Davis of Boston Esq. in settlement with him this day relative to the printing of the New England Memorial.
>
> SARAH AVERY, FRANCIS THAXTER — *Administrators of the Estate of Joseph Avery decd.*
>
> Witness
> MARY H. THAXTER

[1] See the notice of him in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 560–561.

[2] B. Kingman, Epitaphs from Burial Hill, pp. 150–151.

[3] Cf. our Publications, xviii. 23.

[4] This agreement was printed in full, id. xviii. 21–22.

Judge Davis apparently thought it necessary or desirable to secure all existing rights in the publication of the New England's Memorial, which Mr. Avery had obtained under his agreement with the Committee of the First Church.

The agreement with the First Church which Avery made gave him no rights in the New England's Memorial. That publication was public property which anybody had the right to reprint. The agreement did give him the necessary permission to print, as therein stated, "a valuable Tract by the same Author composed in the year 1680 & which had never been printed. This Tract composes part of the first volume of the records of the first church in Plymouth, it was intended to supply many ommissions in the Memorial & was compiled principally from the Manuscripts of Governor Bradford." This "Tract," however, Judge Davis did not print in his Appendix to his edition.

The assignment to Judge Davis by the administrators of Joseph Avery suggested an inquiry which was fruitful in results. Avery died in Plymouth on August 4, 1822, and his wife Sarah Avery was appointed administratrix of his estate August 12, 1822.[1] In the Probate Office files is found an inventory of Joseph Avery's estate which includes among other property an itemized list of books in his Plymouth bookstore. The number of volumes and the variety of titles in a bookstore in a town of less than 5,000 inhabitants is interesting and surprising.

156 Bibles.	130 Vol. Law Books
837 Vol. Divinity	143 Physics & Surgery
683 History	570 Vol. Murrays reader
136 Morse's Geography	and Gramr.
344 Flavel on the heart, etc.	222 Cooper's History
1 Set Rees Cyclopedia	17 Vol. Massa^{tts}. Reports
4950 Vol. Miscellaneous &c.	180 Doz. Toy & children's books

and lastly, and of most importance to our inquiry —

2500 Vols. New England Memorial in sheets @ 50 — 1250.00

Judge Davis in the Preface to his edition says —

Before the completion of his labors, which have been often interrupted, and for long intervals suspended, another edition of the Memorial and

[1] W. T. Davis, Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, p. 196.

Mr. Cotton's supplement has appeared, printed at Plymouth, by Allen Danforth, in a duodecimo volume, so that this enlarged edition, which, it was expected, would have been the fourth, is denominated the fifth.

Allen Danforth was born in Taunton on the 18th of January, 1796, and came to Plymouth in 1822 and established a weekly newspaper called The Old Colony Memorial, the first number of which was issued to 223 subscribers on May 4, 1822, three months before Mr. Avery died.[1] I venture to suggest that this fourth edition of Morton's history, published by Allen Danforth, explains what became of the 2500 volumes in sheets, listed in the inventory of Avery's estate and appraised at $1250.00.

The appearance of Danforth's edition in 1826, just before the publication in the same year of Judge Davis's work, undoubtedly interfered with the sale of the latter, for, in 1833, as stated in my former communication, neither Dr. Thacher, the librarian, nor Judge Davis could see any prospect of disposing of the copies of the fifth edition, which the Pilgrim Society had for sale.[2]

The discovery of the Mitchell letter and the Avery agreement, both written more than a century ago, is something more than a "trifle of antiquarianism," for they serve to complete the communication which I made here ten years ago, and make it possible to trace in some detail the story of the fourth and fifth editions of Morton's New England's Memorial.

This story may now be summed up briefly as follows. The third edition of Morton was published at Newport in 1772. No other edition was projected, so far as can be discovered, until 1802. On October 11 of that year John Davis wrote to the Rev. James Kendall, mentioning his intention to republish the Memorial, and asking permission to reprint part of the first volume of the Plymouth Church Records as an "appendage." In the same letter he agreed that the profits of the book should go to aid the Church. Ten days later the parish voted to help in Davis's project. In December there were published "Proposals," asking subscriptions to the new edition of Morton. These appeared in a broadside and also in advertisements

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[1] W. T. Davis, Plymouth Memories, p. 167; John J. May, Danforth Genealogy, p. 172.

[2] See our Publications, xviii. 25, xxiii. 549–550, 561, 562, 568, 570–572.

in various periodicals. Nothing further was done, however, until 1814, when a committee of the Church entered into an agreement with Joseph Avery, the bookseller, giving the latter the right to print and publish the new edition. In 1815 the Rev. James Flint, speaking on the authority of William Davis, announced the publication of the work, apologizing later for having done so, inasmuch as John Davis was disturbed at this public proclamation of the appearance of a book which was not yet issued. Avery died in 1822, and the administrators of his estate assigned to John Davis the contract made by the bookseller with the Committee of the Church, so that Davis now acquired all the rights of publication formerly held by Avery. It appears from Avery's inventory, however, that he had already printed the Memorial, and left in his stock 2500 volumes of it in sheets. In 1826 Allen Danforth published the fourth edition of the Memorial, and in view of the evidence presented in this paper, it seems probable that this edition was made up of the 2500 copies formerly printed by Avery. Therefore, when Judge Davis's edition finally appeared, later in 1826, it was the fifth and not the fourth edition, and his statement in his preface, so describing it, together with the other facts revealed by the documents just discussed, makes it abundantly clear that there was, as I stated in 1903, no edition of the Memorial between the Newport one of 1772 and that of Danforth in 1826. The references to a new edition, occurring between 1772 and 1826, seem all to apply to Davis's work, and only Danforth's use of Avery's printed sheets prevented Davis's edition, when it came out at last, from being the fourth republication of Morton's New England's Memorial instead of the fifth.

Mr. BENJAMIN LORING YOUNG spoke on "The Portraits of Colonial and Provincial Governors at the Massachusetts State House," emphasizing particularly the progress made during the last four years in completing the collection of these portraits in the possession of the Commonwealth. Of the forty-five governors from 1780 to 1925, forty-three are represented by oil paintings at the State House, and portraits of Governors Coolidge and Cox will soon be added to complete the series. As

to the colonial and provincial governors, there were in 1921 at the State House but nine paintings of these men. Since 1921 the collection has been increased by the addition of paintings of Edward Winslow, Josiah Winslow, William Stoughton, Sir Edmund Andros, and by two portraits of Jonathan Belcher.

It is probable that no portraits exist of Carver, Bradford, Prince, Hinckley, Cradock, Thomas Dudley, Haynes, Sir William Phips, Tailer, Shute, and Spencer Phips. A portrait of Bellingham is said to exist, and paintings of the other governors are believed to be extant. In 1924 the General Court granted adequate appropriations to the Art Commission of Massachusetts to enable them to procure copies of these, and it is hoped that during the current year there may be received at the State House portraits of Vane, Bernard, Shirley, and Pownall. Plans are also being made for procuring a portrait of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont.

The success of the attempt to secure a series of portraits of Massachusetts governors, complete so far as it is possible to make it, is due not only to the wise provisions made by the General Court for this purpose but also to the generosity of individuals and patriotic societies. In order that the work may be carried to a conclusion, continued coöperation of this sort is much to be desired.

Mr. Young called attention to House Document No. 1832, of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which is A Record of the Portraits, Busts, Statues, Bas-Reliefs and Tablets in or about the State House, Boston, compiled by Ellen Mudge Burrill, and dated February 29, 1924.[1]

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[1] See also Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Document No. 1815: Presentation of the Portrait of William Stoughton . . . to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the Boston Athenaeum . . . May 20, 1924, which con-

At the conclusion of Mr. Young's remarks, President ROBINSON spoke briefly, assuring the speaker of the interest of the members of the Society in the undertaking he had discussed.

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tains addresses by J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Esq., Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton, and the Honorable Benjamin Loring Young, together with a formal acceptance on behalf of the Commonwealth by His Excellency Channing H. Cox.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1925

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 26, 1925, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Mr. Charles Sprague Sargent, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. William MacDonald read the following paper:

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

The importance of the frontier in American history no longer needs either demonstration or argument. The series of studies of various phases of frontier life which Professor Turner has published, one of them a study of the early New England frontier contributed some years ago to the transactions of this Society,[1] not only opened to students a phase of American history which had been neglected and in considerable part ignored, but seemed also to offer a new point of view from which the history of the United States must thenceforth be written. The recent History of the American Frontier which Professor Paxson has brought out is apparently an attempt to carry to its logical conclusion the work which Professor Turner began, not through further detached studies of particular areas or episodes, but by a comprehensive examination of the whole course of frontier development from the close of the Seven Years' War to about 1893, when the frontier itself disappeared. There is

[1] See our Publications, xvii. 250–271.

no need to praise the scholarship which these writers, and other workers in the same field, have displayed, and now that the ball is rolling there is little reason to fear that the significance of the frontier, as historians of the Turner school appear to conceive it, will be underrated. If the story of New England and the Atlantic Coast looms less large in the narrative histories of the United States during the next century than in the century that has passed, it will be because a new generation of scholars sees in the growth of the nation a shifting of the centre of gravity and a multiplication of interests of which history must take heed.

I find myself asking, however, whether the story of the frontier, in the form in which it is now being generally told, is after all the whole story. Two tendencies in particular in the treatment of the subject appear to be open to question from the point of view of historical completeness. One is the tendency to emphasize politics at the expense of other social forces; the other is the tendency to treat the frontier as a whole or in large and rather sweeping sections. One need not entangle himself in the thorny meshes of the economic interpretation of history, or champion any theory about the relative merits of sociological and historical method, to perceive that politics, as a phase of social activity, has no longer the importance that it once had, that the intellectual habits and everyday activities of a community are better evidence of its civilized status than are its forms of government, or that only by a careful study of small areas, as homogeneous as possible if there be homogeneity at all, are data to be obtained for sound generalization.

The problem which I wish to discuss, then, is not the political expansion of the United States, or any portion of it, due to the extension westward of the frontier line, nor the economic or social issues which such extension raised. What I am interested in, rather, is an inquiry regarding the extent to which, if at all, the underlying characteristics of the older communities from which migration started, and of the radiating circle of communities which in turn became relatively old as they themselves became the starting-points of new migrations, have been reproduced in the new communities of the ever-changing frontier, or have been modified through the transplantation of social institutions to new regions under relatively new and primitive conditions. I am aware that such an inquiry,

when dealt with in the summary fashion which alone is possible here, must partake largely of the character of generalizations regarding which I have just uttered a word of warning, and I speak under correction when the facts of the case shall have been more fully explored, but I nevertheless venture to think that the inquiry, if it can be carried through comprehensively, may show that the development of the American frontier has not only been characterized by great social diversity, but that it also marks, from the standpoint of Eastern culture, a process of disintegration directly opposed to the growth of national solidarity.

If I understand the teachings of modern ethnography and ethnology, we should expect to find in America, as the settled area expanded, a reproduction in new areas of the essential social characteristics of the communities from which the predominating population sprang, modified principally by climate (including under that term the physical conditions of the new country in general) and by conflict with hostile peoples whose territory was invaded. Old peoples, we are told, spill over into new areas, taking their culture with them, and upon this culture the soil, the weather, natural resources and enemies work their transformations. To what extent has this process been illustrated in the expansion of English settlement in this country?

Only, it seems to me, to a very limited extent in the earlier periods of migration, and even then with marked local variation. The most perfect illustration of the reproduction of primary social conditions in the early colonial period appears to be found in the westward occupation of the Massachusetts area. Save as certain towns, notably, of course, Boston, grew faster than others, or as facilities for fishing and shipbuilding inhered in the sea-coast rather than in the interior, there is no important difference, until long after the Revolution, between the town life in the neighborhood of Boston and that which eventually covered Massachusetts to the New York boundary. From every important point of view the towns are the same — the same in government, in social usage, in religious habit, in economic activity — and they are to all intents and purposes the same to-day. A similar uniformity of characteristic is to be found in the early river towns of Connecticut, but they are not so good an illustration of migration because of the slight distances

which separated them and the uniform nature of the area which they occupied.

A rather striking difference is perceived, on the other hand, when we turn to the area of expansion in New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine. In each of these colonies the town form of local government was set up; the Congregational type of Protestantism prevailed over any other, and farming, except on the sea-coast, was the principal occupation. The growth of the towns, however, was slow; domestic architecture was of the familiar story-and-a-half type which betokens a very moderate prosperity; roads were bad, schools poor, and intellectual life at a relatively low ebb. The traces of these differences still persisted for some time after the last French war robbed the frontier of enemy danger. The utmost effort of the imagination fails to discover in the three States named, during their colonial years, a degree of social advancement or intellectual activity entirely comparable to the Massachusetts area from which their early populations were largely drawn. Was it because Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont had no Boston to dominate them, or because colonial or commonwealth government was a weaker centralizing force; or was it because the frontier, once political connection is severed, tends to appropriate only the imperfectly assimilated elements of the society from which its settlers come, and moves on a lower, or at least less exacting, intellectual and social level, and therewith rests content?

We read in the books that the spread of American civilization, at least as far as the Mississippi, has in the main followed parallels of latitude, the region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi being belted, so to speak, with New England influence in New York, Michigan and northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; with Pennsylvania or Virginia influence in the territory nearer the Ohio River; with Virginia or North Carolina influence in the mountain country of Kentucky, Tennessee and even Missouri, and with South Carolina or Georgia influence across the cotton belt. Perhaps there is a sense in which this is so, but the theory appears to be subject to so many exceptions as to make it on the whole an unsafe guide. Save for the practice of establishing compact settlements, and eventual reliance upon farming as one of the principal occupations, I do not find any very clear reproduction of either

Massachusetts or Connecticut in New York or the States beyond. The town system of local government did not long survive even where it was at first attempted; Congregationalism as the prevailing ecclesiastical type did not penetrate far beyond the Hudson; schools were long almost indefinitely poorer than those of southern New England, and intellectual life was at a low ebb. If the States or parts of States that I have named were dominated, in the years of their early development, by New England customs or New England ideas, it was by a New England which had become strangely attenuated in the process of migration, and which yielded with hardly a struggle to the conditions of a new country.

Similar phenomena present themselves as one follows westward the zone of settlement in which the conditions prevailing at the time of migration in Pennsylvania, Virginia or the Carolinas are thought to have been more or less reproduced. Certain resemblances there are, but they are overborne by the differences. If we cross the Mississippi and follow the course of settlement in the prairie States, it will appear that each successive remove is attended with the shifting off of further likenesses to the regions of origin, until we at last discover that a new society has come into being for whose historical foundations one must search far and wide.

It was my fortune as a young man, just beginning academic life, to pass several years in a Western community in which, if traditionary sayings were to be believed, New England life and spirit, and particularly the life and spirit of Massachusetts, had been transplanted more successfully, and had spread their roots more widely, than anywhere else in the central West. The town of Lawrence, Kansas, as you know, was founded by men and women principally from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont, named for Amos Lawrence,[1] nurtured by the New England Emigrant Aid Company which Massachusetts principally supported, and became the centre in Kansas of the free-state agitation to which the anti-slavery sentiment of New England was especially devoted. Great care is said to have been taken, in selecting the persons who were

[1] Amos Lawrence, 1814–1886, became Treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. For the naming of Lawrence, Kansas, see 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xii. 132, 133.

to occupy this outpost of freedom, to choose only those of good reputation for industry and success in life, God-fearing men and women with their families, who were able to pay their way, and all of them fired with enthusiasm for the free-state cause. It was distinctly a winnowed group that went forth to make Kansas a free commonwealth, and, although the first winter brought some hardship, there was never at any time a question whether the difficulties of settlement and civil conflict would be overcome, or material success in life eventually assured. If economic resource, political backing, and high moral purpose akin to the spirit of a crusade could ever cause the New England type of society to reproduce itself in a new region, the conditions of such an outcome would seem to have been carefully provided in the case of Lawrence.

At the time when I first went to Lawrence, less than twenty years after the close of the Civil War, what was known locally as the New England spirit was still much in evidence. Many of the original settlers were still living; the most prominent business or professional men were of New England origin, and possession of New England lineage assured to the newcomer a welcome as to an old home. More than half of the faculty of the State university, which had been located at Lawrence in 1869, had had New England college training, and the Congregational church was admittedly the place of worship of the socially elect. The prescribed form of local government was, indeed, that of a city, and the county had the relatively important functions that it has everywhere in the West, but there was nevertheless a fair degree of public interest in municipal questions of a political character, and expressions of opinion through public meetings were respectfully regarded.

Yet the Lawrence of the '80s showed curiously few of the external or internal characteristics of New England life. Its streets, laid out on the checkerboard plan with small regard to topography, were, for the most part, ungraded, deep with mud in wet weather and with frozen ruts in winter, and flanked with board sidewalks which were a menace to life and limb. Scarcely a dwelling house in the city resembled any style of domestic architecture common to New England, while at least a third of the houses were both cheap and shabby, and dooryards and backyards were veritable eyesores. The water supply was precarious, public sanitation was primitive,

and the percentage of typhoid fever and other filth diseases was high. The one redeeming physical feature of the city was its shade trees, most of which had been planted, and in the preservation of which the people seemed to take a real pride.

For a population of about ten thousand Lawrence had not less than ten churches, and while the Congregationalists outnumbered any of the others, they were pressed hard by the Methodists, with the Baptists not far behind. The public schools, notwithstanding the presence of the State university, were below the grade of similar schools in a number of Kansas cities. A few of the old settlers — bear in mind that Lawrence was then only thirty years old — had acquired comfortable properties, chiefly in land, but the larger number appeared to have been rather unsuccessful, and in a community which was just passing under the control of a new generation were likely to be referred to with a smile or a shrug. Political power in city and county, with the exception of that which was wielded *sub rosa* by a few bankers, merchants, or industrialists, mainly of New England origin, was exercised by a miscellaneous aggregation drawn from many States, and already mixed with Germans and Swedes, some of whom had themselves been immigrants, but who were now prosperous farmers or merchants. In three directions only was a real social solidarity to be found: in the university faculty of some thirty men and women, among the Quakers who gathered regularly at their spacious but ugly meeting-house, and among the adherents of a German turnverein; and only in the first of these groups was a clear New England influence to be felt.

If one penetrated below these surface characteristics of what, let me again remind you, was still regarded in Kansas as preëminently a New England town, resemblances and divergences offered to a New Englander a curious array of contrarieties. The embodiment of public spirit in Lawrence tended to shrink when the expenditure of money was involved, and more than twenty years were to elapse before the city roused itself to get rid of its unsightly and filthy streets; but the bitterness of its political partisanship, in part an inheritance from the Civil War, recalled the days when New England Federalism was sacrosanct and a follower of Jefferson an undesirable citizen. Only one or two of the Protestant ministers who came and went during my six years of residence could fairly

be called intellectual persons, and even the Congregational communion yielded easily to the periodical appeals of emotional revivals. Religious dissent from supposed orthodox standards was severely frowned upon, and the most popular professor in the State university was so far under a cloud because of his supposed belief in evolution as to lead him to explain privately that he was only interested, not convinced. One felt that the community had respect for learning, especially in scientific directions, provided the traditional moral order remained intact, but it was not a reading population, and the appeal of beauty or order was small. It was to be expected that the economic interest of the place should centre in land and wheat and corn and cattle, in proposed new railways and eagerly sought federal buildings, for which Wall Street and the East would presumably pay; but it was disconcerting to a newcomer to hear New England referred to as small, remote, or behind the times, or to listen to accounts of visits in which little trace of affection for the mother region of the East could be discerned.

I have cited the case of Lawrence because of my impression that the characteristics of the town were, in essence, much the same as those which have attached to the American frontier ever since the Revolution. Instead of the emigrant taking with him the institutions and spirit of the New England in which he had been reared, planting them in the new wilderness home, modifying them only as climatic conditions or the presence of enemies required, and, withal, cherishing the memory of the place which he had left as a valued possession for himself and his children, we appear to find something quite contrary. The emigrant did indeed conquer the wilderness for civilization, but he was himself transformed by the wilderness that he subdued. The frontier line was an advancing wave, but it was also an ebbing and flowing tide, laying bare the beach only to sweep it later with debris. Whatever the social institutions that were transplanted, whether political, economic, or those of domestic manner and custom, they early became, in the majority of cases, something else, an institutional life adapted to the unwonted conditions of frontier existence. What was true of the first frontier, moreover, was true also of each of the succeeding frontiers which the recurring waves of migration traced, decade by decade, upon the map. Each new settled area had its little working capital of inherited or accus-

tomed institutions, some small part of which doubtless long remained intact, but the capital was too small for frontier needs, and might conceivably have failed altogether had not the new territory itself offered resources of social wealth for its own exploitation.

There are two reasons in particular, I think, why this should have been the case. One is the character of the emigrants; the other is the obvious conditions, and especially the intellectual and moral conditions, of frontier existence. With regard to emigrant character one must speak with caution, partly because not all of the individuals or families that migrated were alike, and partly because we still lack the detailed study of migration on a large scale to which Lois Mathews' The Expansion of New England is so notable an introduction. Until the history of a considerable number of migrants — say a thousand from Massachusetts and Connecticut for the period prior to 1820 — shall have been studied, their movements charted, and the resulting data reduced to systematic form, we cannot be sure that generalizations are accurate for a given time or place.

Subject to this correction in detail when the study just referred to shall have been made, I venture to suggest that the migrant element of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who carried civilization into the West, were not, in general, those best fitted to contribute to the stability or enlargement of the communities from which they came. Love of adventure, for example, is a disintegrating rather than a centralizing influence in society. The novelty or excitement which it craves is a sure symptom of discontent with accustomed surroundings, an evidence of dissatisfaction with what the community has to offer, a protest against restraints to which one must conform. The community spirit itself may be petty or large, bigoted or tolerant, bad or good; no judgment need be passed at any of those points; it is enough that the community for any reason has ceased to interest, or that its conventions are felt to chafe.

What is true of the individual in this respect is likely to be true also, I think, of any group which, recognizing its solidarity, voluntarily migrates to another place because of dissatisfaction with political or religious conditions. Those who go are those who can be spared. I doubt very much, for example, whether Hooker and his followers, departing from Massachusetts with formal God-speed and

without recrimination, would have helped the growth of Massachusetts had they remained, and this notwithstanding the conspicuous success of their colonizing experiment in the Connecticut valley.

A similar observation may, I think, be made regarding those migrations which are said to have been induced by the lure of free or cheaper or more fertile land, or by the general hope of bettering one's position in life. Throughout the colonial period, and until after the War of 1812, the pressure of population, practically unaffected as it was by European immigration, does not appear to have been so great as to make land excessively dear. The rapid spread of settlement in southern New Hampshire and Maine and the upper Connecticut valley that followed the close of the French and Indian wars, is certainly to be ascribed to other causes than the cheapness or availability of land, although land was doubtless one of the factors; and New England could hardly be called a densely populated region when the "Ohio fever" set in. Had a desire to make more money been dissociated from a restless desire to change one's place, the increased demand for farm labor and farm products which accompanied the development of New England manufactures after the War of 1812 should, it would seem, have operated to check the westward migration that then went on. The best explanation, though of course not the only one, seems to lie in the fact that the dream of improving the personal economic condition by beginning again in another place, like the spirit of adventure or the hankering for novelty, is born of dissatisfaction with one's surroundings; and it is not by the efforts of the dissatisfied or the disappointed that a community grows, strengthens, or becomes socially rich in such qualities as interest and hold.

To put the matter in another way: our early New England settlements appear to have been established by two quite different classes of persons, those who came to build homes and commonwealths, and those who sought novelty, or gain, or something that they denominated freedom. Those of the first class did not at any time remove far from the places where they first planted. A little shifting about until the best sites for the meeting-house and the fort were found; then, as the soldiers say, they "dug in" and fought it through. As newcomers came the area was naturally extended by

what was for a time a wilderness conquest, but the newcomers also "dug in" and remained. These were the men and women who created the enduring fabric of town and commonwealth, of church and school and law and social obligation. The restless element, on the other hand, whether their slogan was adventure or trade or religious or political liberty, were only incidentally founders of homes or builders of towns and states; their primary object was the realization of some personal experience, more important in their eyes than social solidarity; and for them the lure of the wilderness was irresistible. I doubt very much if the generation that planted the early settlements of Massachusetts, or the generation that followed them, was greatly moved by the desire for material prosperity or by any conscious yearning for novelty; the controlling motive, I think, was ideas; but the material motive and the desire for personal liberty were strong with those who cut loose and followed the sun.

If what has just been said be true, we have an explanation, comprehensive enough to merit examination in detail, of certain characteristics of the frontier, not only in the early colonial period but in later times as well. With only the exceptions that go to prove the rule, I doubt if the essential features of New England society have been at any time very much reproduced beyond the New England area. Within New England itself, moreover, the diversities of social structure and spirit were considerable, and there is risk of confusion if we dwell too much upon the supposed likeness of New England as a whole or think of it collectively as a type. Let me illustrate this by reference to Massachusetts, easily the best example of a homogeneous and virile society.

With all respect to those who find in politics or economics a sufficient explanation of the past, the dominating influence in the molding of early Massachusetts seems to me to have been religion. As a body of doctrine and a scheme of ecclesiastical organization, religion controlled the intellectual life of the colony for at least four generations; as a rule of personal conduct it determined moral standards. It was not a liberal faith that Massachusetts embraced, and its harsh exactions have come to seem remote, but its tough and unyielding fibre was woven into the texture of individual and social life with a thoroughness which has rarely been equalled any-

where. Looked at as a social influence, religion was a conservative and centralizing force. It was not charitable to new religious doctrines or practices, especially those in which the element of emotion was strong; it put dissenters under the social ban, reserving its moral confidence and its grant of political or social preferment for those who held the true faith, and it looked with horror upon irreligion in any form. Not until more than a century after the colony had become firmly established did its people yield to the excitement of the Great Awakening; and the Great Awakening, while it broke the power of theocracy beyond repair, did not destroy the hold of religion as the interest of life which, on the whole, seemed most worth while.

Second only to religion was the devotion to practical democracy as embodied in the town. To the social unity of a common religion was added the unifying force of compact settlement, direct popular control of immediate interests through the town meeting, direct representation of the town in the General Court, and a tardy and reluctant acceptance of any political organization between the town and the colony. It did not occur to the early generations of Massachusetts that the town, as the unit of local government, could ever be outgrown, and, in the expansion of settlement within the colony, towns propagated towns. It was doubtless because of this close political connection between the town and the colony, both wrapped in a common faith, that the third great characteristic of early Massachusetts, an intense and jealous loyalty to the colony or commonwealth, continued to prevail throughout the whole colonial period, and carried over into the period of union under the Confederation and the Constitution. The indelible mark of distinction which those who founded Massachusetts gave to the social structure which they reared, continued, generation after generation, to impress those who were made free of its jurisdiction. What a theme for an oration in the simple phrase, "a Massachusetts man!"

If, now, the successive advances of the frontier line represent the natural extension of settlement from occupied areas into the wilderness, we should expect to see the dominating characteristics which have just been mentioned reproduced in the new communities beyond the Massachusetts border, with only such modifications as temporary primitive conditions, climate, or enemy resistance

necessitated. It seems to me that this was very far from being the case, however. The early settlements in New Hampshire and Maine, for example, owed much in their beginning to migration from Massachusetts; and after the overthrow of the French and Indian power opened the northern wilderness to further occupation, Massachusetts furnished an appreciable number of the new migrants. Neither religiously nor politically, however, do New Hampshire or Maine appear to be very exact reproductions of Massachusetts. It is true that Congregationalism was long the preponderant type of religion, but the traces of theocratic ideas are faint, and neither theological opinion nor schemes of ecclesiastical organization played a large part in the daily corporate life of the people. The reproduction of the town system, in turn, was not accompanied by any such intensity of devotion to the colony as Massachusetts exhibited, and there was long an obvious disparity of public spirit. The spiritual elements of faith, conviction, ambition, and public allegiance which inhered in Massachusetts from the first, reappear only in diluted form once the boundary of the commonwealth is passed.

The process of dilution goes on with increasing rapidity as we follow the frontier line westward. There is less and less of New England, more and more of what has come to be connoted by the vague term "the West." The frontier was lawless; hard drinking and gambling were prevailing vices; sexual irregularity had frequent illustration; the religion of emotion and spasm was the only religion to which communities responded; schools were wretched and so-called colleges the merest pretence; respect for government was slight notwithstanding the promptness with which local and commonwealth governments were set up; and successive waves of migration gave to the whole population an appearance, and to a considerable extent a reality, of agitation and change. It was in the States that were formed from successive frontier areas, pieced together, as it were, like strata of gravel and rock in geological formations, that the federal government was early and most persistently besought to assume the cost of building roads, bridges and canals, that the phenomena of religious revivals poured contempt upon the intellectual elements of religion, that fiat money and wildcat banking flourished, and that secret societies and political or economic vagaries found a fertile soil. The slovenly conditions of the typical

western settlement, with its muddy streets, its vulgar architecture, and its cattle and hogs roaming at large, were the natural accompaniments of a rudimentary community sentiment in which country as such, rather than the particular place in which one lived, was the thing that caught the imagination and gave to life a transitory aim.

Obviously these are not the characteristics of New England, whether comparison be made with what may be called the primary New England of Massachusetts and Connecticut or with the secondary New England of New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont. They are not the characteristics of New England because, although New England contributed of its men and women to the settlement of the West, the essential traits of New England society were not at any time transplanted. I am not now concerned with contrasting New England and the West in terms of good or bad, more or less, crude or refined; that, as Kipling says, is something else again. But there was in the primary New England of Massachusetts and Connecticut a certain theoretical finish, an intellectual conviction, a moral intensity, and a love of place because the place seemed good, that marked it out as a province, a self-centred and self-contained community which not only lived by rules, but which also loved the rules and esteemed them nourishing. To such a provincial society, ably defended as worth preserving in an illuminating essay by Professor Royce, migration is an alien call.[1] It is not land or adventure, but the realization of ideas, that is coveted, and the realization of ideas is not easily separable from fixity of place. I doubt if there are many illustrations in history of the successful transplantation of such a coherent society, or of the successful cultivation of any of its primary elements in areas of different latitude and longitude. Such a society grows and ripens and decays; its roots may shrivel and its leaves fall; but though the winds of change may scatter its seeds far and wide, they find no soil in which to grow for long. There is but one New England; to look for others is as idle as the applause which greets the movements of an actor on a screen.

The so-called expansion of New England, accordingly, to repeat what has already been suggested, appears to have been the work mainly of those upon whom the New England spirit had taken

[1] Josiah Royce, Provincialism, in his Race Questions, etc. (New York, 1908).

no firm hold. The migrants, to adapt a phrase of the Supreme Court, were affected with a New England interest, but they were not bone, muscle, and nerve of New England life. Transplanted into the conditions of a wilderness, they did indeed retain some traces of their New England origin, but the inherited characteristics were speedily overshadowed by characteristics acquired from the new environment, and the resulting combination, from the point of view of social origins, showed features in which New England lineaments were less and less to be traced at all. Whether there is not presented, in this easy modification or abandonment of New England traits, the suggestion of a certain sterility in early New England culture, an inability to propagate itself beyond the small area in which it first developed notwithstanding its vigor there, is an interesting inquiry that cannot be gone into here. It is a suggestive historical fact, however, that the distinguishing social characteristics of New England, whether before or after the period of statehood, have reappeared in other parts of the United States only in very small areas under exceptional conditions. The attempt to plant in Kansas Territory in 1854–55 a population of New England men and women who should fend off the introduction of slavery was distinctly an artificial proceeding when looked at historically.

I have no time to examine the portions of the American frontier to the formation and extension of which the middle and southern colonies contributed. I venture to think, however, that such an examination would show results much like those which appear in the zone of New England influence. Perhaps we have here an explanation of the political and social sectionalism — or, to use the better but more equivocal term, provincialism — which still, in spite of all the unifying influence of a common federal government and common national problems, leaves the United States only imperfectly a nation. If we abandon legal phraseology and speak in terms of social organization, practice and thought, the United States is still an aggregation of provinces, each as distinct from the others in habit and point of view as are the recognized provincial areas of more than one European country. That these provincial differences exist is due less to striking dissimilarities of soil, climate, or access to markets, than to the fact that culture, being in itself

a conservative thing, does not suffer transplantation save at the cost of change in type, and that the acquired characteristics of a given society tend to exceed in number, variety, and influence the characteristics that are inherited.

Here, then, is a field of history which calls for exploration. The connection between geography and social type, not over vast areas through thousands of years but in small areas and in brief periods of time, is a subject regarding which there is need of much more assured knowledge than we now possess. The thesis which I have ventured to defend will be verified, if it be sound, through further and more detailed study of the social composition of early New England communities, the numerical volume of political, religious or social dissent, the content of popular and class education, the nature of the economic struggle, and the personal history of those who migrated. The intellectual content of average life in given circumstances of time and place, if it can be determined with approximate accuracy, should enable us to see whether a culture such as appeared in early New England was adapted only to the elect, and at what points it tended to crowd the migratory elements out. I am inclined to think that in the small settled areas that early America presented, more or less clearly separated one from another and, at the same time, bounded by a wilderness, the primary impulse of expansion came from within; that it was not so much the lure of the beyond as the lack of adjustment to one's place that sent people on their travels. If this be true, then the history of the American frontier is to be written in terms of the community life that lay behind the moving fringe of settlement, more than in those of the advancing front itself.

Mr. George P. Anderson presented the following communication:

PASCAL PAOLI, AN INSPIRATION TO THE SONS OF LIBERTY

Few American historians mention Pascal Paoli,[1] benevolent dictator of Corsica from 1755 to 1769, and his career is almost unknown in this country. Yet from the time of the agitation for the repeal

[1] Since the present year (1925) is the bicentennial of Paoli's birth, it seems appropriate to give a brief summary of his career, which will also serve to make

of the Stamp Act until 1770, this military leader of the Corsicans who were battling for independence exerted a marked influence upon the Sons of Liberty and other patriots of the pre-revolutionary period. Because there are many evidences that his deeds and his cause became sources of genuine inspiration in at least four American

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clear various points which occur below in the text. He was born April 25, 1725, at Rostino, Corsica, the son of Hyacinth and Dionisia Valentini Paoli. His mother was of noble birth, and his father had fought bravely as a Corsican general in 1734 in an uprising against the Genoese. Pascal (or Pasquale) received a good education, learned several languages, acquired military experience, and, in 1755, found himself already, at thirty years of age, benevolent dictator of Corsica, an office to which he was called by the people. He expelled the Genoese, who had long held most of the island in subjection, and ruled with conspicuous wisdom for fourteen years. In 1768 the Genoese sold their rights to the French, and Corsica was overrun by these new foes. This meant that Paoli was now called upon to face a resourceful European power, and it is remarkable that for a year he was able to withstand the assaults of the French. Defeated in battle on May 9, 1769, he retired to Leghorn, and in September went to England, where he remained for the rest of his life except for a visit to Corsica in the period from 1791 to 1795, at which time he tried in vain to free the island from the control of France. Seeing that the attempt was doomed to fail he turned the island over to the English. He hoped to be made governor of the island, but, for political reasons, that position was given to Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Paoli, discouraged, returned once more to England, where he resumed a pension, formerly granted to him, which now amounted to two thousand pounds. He died in England February 5, 1807. An impressive memorial to him was erected in Westminster Abbey. His body was buried in old St. Pancras Churchyard, but in 1889 it was removed to Corsica. The Latin inscription on his tomb in St. Pancras Churchyard is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1808, p. 61.

Paoli's public aims were essentially insular, and his sole idea in life was independence for Corsica. He never allowed his activities to be diverted to other channels and so never showed the world what he might have accomplished in a larger field. At heart he was a more constructive statesman than Napoleon, the other great Corsican in European history since the tenth century, for his thoughts were always close to the people and he was always seeking their prosperity and happiness.

A short but interesting account of Paoli will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, and there is a longer appreciation and critical study of him in Historical Studies, by Herman Merivale (1865), pp. 75–129. See also F. M. Giamarchi, Vita Politica di Pasquale Paoli (Bastia, 1858), K. L. Klose, Leben Paskal Paolis (Braunschweig, 1853), C. B. Tinker, Nature's Simple Plan, and H. Murdock, Earl Percy Dines Abroad (Boston, 1924). In 1769 there was published in London a poem by George Cockings, called The Paoliad, or Corsican Memoirs. This was in praise of Paoli and the liberty-loving Corsicans.

Throughout this paper the usual modern spelling of Pascal for Paoli's Christian name is adopted, although in many of the quoted passages Paschal appears.

colonies, it seems profitable briefly to study his relationship to American patriotic circles.

Paoli, personally, was unknown to the American popular leaders. He never visited America, and never lifted his voice in acknowledgment of the admiration he received from there. None the less, his career as a leader and as a general appealed to those of the northern colonists who were frank to express their views as to the heaviness of the British yoke. He proved decidedly popular in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, and his fame penetrated even to Vermont. There are few traces of him in New Hampshire or Rhode Island, and in the southern colonies his impress seems to have been slight. His greatest popularity was attained in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Paoli was popular with the radical wing of the colonists probably chiefly because he was shedding blood in an endeavor to secure justice for a downtrodden people. Moreover, it seems that the patriots became enthusiastic over him because he was waging a brave battle against the French, the ancient enemies of the British empire. He was the kind of hero that colonists not of the pacifist type could readily admire, for, within a decade, they themselves had fought the French and they had not forgotten the cruelty and wrongs they had suffered from their enemies' allies, the fierce redmen of the northern frontier. For such reasons, in the period immediately following the agitation for the repeal of the Stamp Act, Paoli was hailed as a genuine hero, second only to men like William Pitt, John Wilkes, and Isaac Barré, and his popularity lasted for about four years. The Sons of Liberty instinctively pinned their faith to him, as a man not afraid to fight against tyranny. This suggests that, almost a decade before the Revolution actually opened, they were in a mood to shed their own blood in defence of liberty. It was fortunate for England that, at this juncture, the Stamp Act was repealed.

The Sons of Liberty, just mentioned as admirers of Paoli, were certain patriots who during the Stamp Act period banded together into an organization which in a few months became a power in nearly every colony. The courage of its members was maintained by patriotic speeches and the drinking of numerous toasts to the heroes of the hour and the issues of the day. In England, of course, a reform party existed, and champions of liberty were a power in

Parliament and in other public assemblages. Some of these leaders served as inspirations to the agitators for liberty in the colonies, but no one of them was militant enough to satisfy a people who entertained themselves with riots. The quest for a hero, accordingly, soon passed from the isle of Albion to the isle of Corsica, and there ended with the discovery of Pascal Paoli. Though he was a Roman Catholic, his deeds and his contest with France appealed to the imagination of the Sons of Liberty, the men who, of all Americans, were most nearly ready to take the field against their king.

This long-distance hero worship was, as has been said, a wholly one-sided affair, and therefore so much the more astonishing. During the whole period of the American Revolution Paoli remained in England, a passive and silent, if not friendly, witness to British preparations for the contest being waged overseas. His position, however, is not hard to understand. After a disastrous campaign in Corsica he had fled to England, and had been living there upon a pension granted by King George III. Naturally he did not dare to draw his sword in America's behalf. He thus missed an opportunity to be enshrined in the nation's heart along with Lafayette, Pulaski, Steuben, and Kosciusko. As a hero to present-day Americans, therefore, he admittedly is almost a curiosity, and yet from 1766 to 1769 he was a prime favorite in American radical circles and his campaign in behalf of the freedom of Corsica was toasted in many a colonial assemblage.

It is important to appreciate the political situation in Corsica at the time when Paoli became a favorite of the American colonists. Genoa, which for centuries had attempted the domination of Corsica, yielded its claims to the French on May 15, 1768, receiving in return a substantial money concession. The French, with a large army, at once began a campaign to subdue the island. They met with many checks and some defeats, but they so greatly outnumbered the Corsicans that the result was a foregone conclusion. At last, at Pontenuovo on May 9, 1769, Paoli was decisively defeated.

Nothing could better illustrate his own valor and that of his devoted people than the fact that at one time when he and about five hundred soldiers were completely surrounded by four thousand French, he called his men together and in passionate terms adjured

them to break the cordon. The Corsicans responded, and that night cut their way through the French army so that Paoli could escape to a vessel and be carried to Leghorn. He arrived in London, September 21, 1769. Thereafter he remained a prominent figure in court circles.[1]

The relationship between Paoli and the English government is vividly portrayed by Guizot. The following extract shows the situation at this period, as seen by French eyes:[2]

In spite of the French occupations from 1708 to 1756, in spite of the refusals with which Cardinal Fleury had but lately met their appeals, the Corsicans, newly risen against the oppression of Genoa, had sent a deputation to Versailles to demand the recognition of their republic, offering to pay the tribute but lately paid annually to their tyrannical protectress. The hero of Corsican independence, Pascal Paoli, secretly supported by England, had succeeded for several years past not only in defending his country's liberty, but also in governing and at the same time civilizing it. This patriotic soul and powerful mind, who had managed to profit by the energetic passions of his compatriots whilst momentarily repressing their intestine quarrels, dreamed of an ideal constitution for his island; he sent to ask for one of J. J. Rousseau,[3] who was still in Switzerland and whom he invited to Corsica. The philosophical chimeras of Paoli soon vanished before a piece of crushing news. The Genoese, weary of struggling unsuccessfully against the obstinate determination of the Corsicans, and unable to clear off the debts which they had but lately incurred to Louis XV., had proposed to M. de Choiseul to cede to France their ancient rights over Corsica, as security for their liabilities. A treaty, signed at Versailles on the 15th of May, 1768, authorized the king to perform all acts of sovereignty in the places and forts of Corsica; a separate article accorded to Genoa an indemnity of two millions.

A cry arose in Corsica. Paoli resolved to defend the independence of his country against France as he had defended it against Genoa. For several months now French garrisons had occupied the places still submitting to Genoa; when they would have extended themselves into the

[1] Samuel Quincy, Solicitor General of Massachusetts in the time of Hutchinson, in his diary, under date of January 1, 1777, while a refugee in London, tells of seeing Paoli at court. See Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xix. 217.

[2] Guizot, History of France from the Earliest Times to 1848 (London, 1872–1881), v. 230–232 (Chapter LIV).

[3] Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the eminent French philosopher and author, was a friend of Paoli.

interior, Paoli barred their passage; he bravely attacked M. de Chauvelin, the king's lieutenant-general, who had just landed with a proclamation from Louis XV. to his new subjects. "The Corsican nation does not let itself be bought or sold like a flock of sheep sent to market," said the protest of the republic's Supreme Council. Fresh troops from France had to be asked for; under the orders of Count Vaux they triumphed without difficulty over the Corsican patriots. Mustering at the Bridge of Golo for a last effort, they made a rampart of their dead; the wounded had lain down among the corpses to give the survivors time to effect their retreat. The town of Corte, the seat of the republican government, capitulated before long. England had supplied Paoli with munitions and arms; he had hoped more from the promises of the government and the national jealousy against France. "The ministry is too weak and the nation too wise to make war on account of Corsica," said an illustrious judge, Lord Mansfield. In vain did Burke exclaim: "Corsica, as a province of France, is for me an object of alarm!" The House of Commons approved of the government's conduct, and England contented herself with offering to the vanquished Paoli a sympathetic hospitality; . . . [later] Corsica, proud of having given a master to France and the Revolution, became definitively French with Napoleon. Corsica was to be the last conquest of the old French monarchy.

Guizot's statement that the English supported Paoli was perfectly true. Some of the funds doubtless were supplied by the government, but there were also substantial private subscriptions. In 1768 and 1769, Barlow Trecothick and S. Vaughan of London collected money from the public for the relief of Paoli and the Corsicans, and were quite active in behalf of this cause.[1] That the General was grateful appears from the following letter:[2]

Most esteemed GENTLEMEN,

The goodness and zeal with which so many generous Englishmen interest themselves in the justice of our cause, and the effectual means that they have furnished for the defence of our liberty and country (at the same time that they most powerfully stimulate us to persevere

[1] I have not discovered that there were any American subscribers to this fund.

[2] This translation of a letter from Paoli to Barlow Trecothick and S. Vaughan was printed in the London Chronicle, April 22–April 25, 1769, p. 390. The original letter was dated at Corsica March 20, 1769. The London Chronicle for 1768, 1769, and 1770, passim, contains many references to Paoli's activities in Corsica, and after his arrival in England.

in our undertaking) awake in us sentiments of the most sincere regard and gratitude, the only manner in which we can now thank our benefactors. I however, in the name of the whole nation, return them the most unfeigned thanks for the generous assistance that they have been pleased to procure us, and have remitted by way of Leghorn, agreeable to their letter of the 10th of February. I have applied this collection to the support of the families of those patriots, who, abhorring a foreign yoke, have abandoned their houses and estates in that part of the country held by the enemy, and have retired to join our army; and of all those other families who may in future find themselves involved in the same fate. I have thought this use quite conformable to the magnanimity of those who have contributed this supply, and have reason to think they will not disapprove of it: and at the same time that it will be agreeable to them to be assured of the perfect esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c.[1]

It is worth noting that Paoli was subjected to many entreaties from the French for a transferred allegiance. He resisted all efforts to be won over to the side of France, and preferred the English to any other outside power. Funds from England had freely been furnished for his campaign, so he had good reason to keep faith. The English statesmen, of course, considered it good politics to try to win Corsica away from France, and hoped eventually to absorb the island into the British Empire. Paoli's position is shown in the following letter: [2]

SIR

YOU are, without doubt, acquainted with my true sentiments on the situation of our affairs. My character has not been that of a hero of

[1] For English impressions of Paoli, see the London Chronicle, November 20–November 22, 1766, p. 498, and September 30–October 3, 1769, p. 328; The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. by Mrs. Paget Toynbee, vii. 328; a poem by the Rev. T. Tournay, called Ambition, an Epistle to Paoli, in the London Chronicle, March 21–March 23, 1769. Walpole writes: "The King and Queen both took great notice of him . . . he was everywhere received with much distinction."

[2] This letter first appeared in the Political Register, an English illustrated monthly magazine, for January, 1769, p. 31. The original, in French, was printed, together with an English translation. The London Chronicle for December 31–January 3, 1769, p. 4, reprinted the translation. It was then copied in the Connecticut Courant for March 27, 1769, and also in the Boston Gazette, April 10, 1769. I am indebted to Mr. Albert C. Bates, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, for first calling my attention to this item. The text given here is that of the letter as printed in the London Chronicle.

romance, a Quixote, or an Amadis. There is nothing more real than the object I pursue: But if instead of a real object, I pursue a chimera, I am deceived indeed; yet my error shall never cause me to desert the common cause. What are for the most part the objects of our pursuits, but dazzling chimeras, which have no other existence, than that, which our lively and deceived imagination lends them? Upon this principle, I will pursue my first plan; and if that liberty which I seek, is not to be found any where, I still shall account him my enemy, which will undertake to remove the delusion from my sight! Let me enjoy this dream, which to me seems so much like truth.

The offers that have been made me, are both injurious to me, and repugnant to that spirit of liberty, which circulates with my blood in my veins, and which shall circulate with it to the last drop. You little know the courage of the Corsicans, if you can believe they will ever submit to a foreign yoke. All the efforts of Genoa have proved ineffectual, against their valour and love of liberty; And shall we then submit to another power that comes to offer us its chains? The rocks that surround me shall melt away, e'er I will betray a cause which I hold in common with the lowest Corsican. No; I never will become the base destroyer of my country, after having been the generous defender of it. If any man was capable of enslaving me, it would be the Comte de Marbeuf [1]; and the King his master could not have chosen a more enchanting man: but you know, Sir, the price of liberty, like health, is only known when lost; they are the most precious enjoyments of life. Let the mean slaves of their masters wills fawn at their feet, and renounce the natural rights of humanity; as for me, I have learnt to be free; I know how to live so; and to die free, I would sacrifice ten lives if I had them: I have but one, but that shall not survive my liberty. Be assured, Sir, I shall ever be immoveable. Gold loses its splendor, when offered as the price of liberty. Honours are only able to dazzle fools, if they are not to be obtained but by renouncing the priviledges of human nature. What does it signify to me, that I am able to command a multitude of slaves, who shall come and humiliate themselves at my feet, if, in a quarter of an hour afterwards, I am forced, in my turn, to humble myself at the feet of another, one degree higher than myself? If I fall the victim of liberty, I shall fall nobly, and teach others to sacrifice themselves to the common cause. Our love of liberty will

[1] The Comte de Marbeuf (c. 1712–1786) was one of the leading French generals serving in the campaign to annex Corsica. He was tactful and efficient, and later acted as the first governor of Corsica under French rule. He tried unsuccessfully to reconcile Paoli to the conquest of the island.

subsist, even among the ruins of our country; it will be enlivened by fire, be born again of the ashes, and will grow, tho' in irons. Of one slaughtered hero will be produced a thousand; and as Tertullian said of the primitive martyrs of the church, Their blood will be fruitful, and heroes will never be wanting in Corsica.

It is probable that Paoli never could have attained his popularity in England but for James Boswell's friendly appreciation of him.[1] The latter visited Corsica in 1765, and for some weeks was Paoli's guest. Returning to England, he wrote a book describing Corsica and giving a most favorable estimate of Paoli.[2] The book served to give the Corsican general a friendly audience with the British nation, and, for our purposes, it is especially interesting to observe that it had a liberal sale in the colonies, as well as in England. William and Thomas Bradford of Philadelphia, publishers of the Pennsylvania Journal, on September 21, 1769, inserted an advertisement a column in length in that newspaper in which they call attention to Catharine Macaulay's History of England and the third edition of James Boswell's book on Corsica and Paoli.[3] The advertisement says of the latter volume: "Mr. Boswell's account of *Corsica* has been so well received by the public, that two numerous editions of 3,500 copies have been sold within the space of a few months; and the book is so highly esteemed abroad, that it has been translated into the French and Dutch languages, and printed at *Amsterdam* and *Lausanne*."[4]

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[1] James Boswell (1740–1795).

[2] An Account of Corsica; the Journal of a Tour to that Island; and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli, London, 1768.

[3] The reference is to Mrs. Catharine Macaulay (1731–1791), whose History of England from the Accession of James the First to that of the Brunswick Line was, in its day, highly popular. Mrs. Macaulay had the support of the Whigs in England, and was a favorite in patriot circles in America. She was especially well liked in Massachusetts, and sent James Otis a set of her writings. In 1784 and 1785 she was in America and in the latter year was a guest of Washington at Mount Vernon. She married William Graham, December 17, 1778, and is sometimes referred to in books of biography as Mrs. Graham. On April 15, 1770, Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Barber of Boston had a daughter born whom they named Catharine Macaulay Barber. See Boston Records, xxiv. 320.

[4] Boswell's book contains an engraving of Paoli, probably made from a painting by Henry Bainbridge of London, who was sent by Sir John Dick, the English consul at Leghorn, to Corsica to paint the general's portrait. This was done shortly before the French completely dominated the island.

However much Paoli ignored his colonial friends, he was a student of world affairs, and not ill-informed in American history. One of his references to the colonies in America is found in Boswell's volume on Corsica and Paoli. By a curious coincidence this reference is to William Penn, founder of the state in which occurred the Battle of Paoli, the most enduring American reminder of the Corsican. Boswell quotes the general as having made this observation:[1] "He said the greatest happiness was not in glory, but in goodness: and that Penn in his American colony, where he had established a people in quiet and contentment, was happier than Alexander the Great, after destroying multitudes at the conquest of Thebes."

In turning now specifically to the influence exerted in America by the name of Paoli, it seems to be more satisfactory to trace the impressions made by it in the order of their importance and supposed historical permanence, rather than to attempt to consider them in chronological order.

The explanation of Paoli's popularity in Pennsylvania — and the resulting influence of his name in the west and middle west — rests in the coincidence that Paoli's struggle and defeat occurred just at the time when Pennsylvania was stirred to a high pitch of enthusiasm by John Dickinson's Farmer's Letters.[2] Most of these letters appeared early in 1768, and in the following year the Corsican had become a popular hero.

The sons of Saint Patrick of Philadelphia observed the anniversary of that saint on Friday, March 17, 1769, with an elaborate celebration at which there were thirty-six toasts. The twelfth was: "Paschal Paoli & the brave Corsicans." The affair was held at the house of James Byrne, who kept a tavern. A newspaper account of the dinner states that several patriotic gentlemen were present.[3] Doubtless this social meeting suggested to some of the visiting patriots that the tavern would be a suitable place for the Sons of Liberty to meet in the near future when they planned to celebrate Paoli's birthday. It is not surprising that Paoli, who was fighting

[1] Account of Corsica, p. 370.

[2] John Dickinson (1732–1808), author of Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies, published in twelve successive numbers of the Pennsylvania Chronicle, beginning December 3, 1767. They were instantly popular.

[3] Boston Gazette, April 10, 1769.

tyranny in Corsica, should have appealed to the Irish contingent in Philadelphia, who were then as dissatisfied with British rule in the Emerald Isle as are the Irish of the present generation.

On April 10, in this same year, the proposed jollification in honor of the birthday of Paoli occurred. The patriots evidently were a little uncertain as to the exact date of his birth, for the celebration was five days late. In this Volsteadian era, the following account of the meeting proves rather thirsty reading:[1]

Last Monday a number of Gentlemen met at Mr. Byrne's, in commemoration of PASCHAL PAOLI'S Birth Day. These Toasts were given at Dinner; and in the evening the bells were set a ringing.

1 The King.
2 The Queen and Royal Family.
3 Paschal Paoli.
4 Lord Chatham.
5 Lord Cambden.
6 Lord Shelburne.
7 Col. Barre.
8 Mr. Burke.
9 May Corsican Virtue prevail over French Policy.
10 The Friends of America and Corsica in Great-Britain.
11 May G. Britain be always just & America always free.
12 The Spirit of Paoli to every American.
13 May Paoli meet with equal Renown, but a happier Fate than the younger Brutus.
14 Mr. Boswell.
15 The Parliament of Paris.
16 May the Spirit of a Wallace animate every Scotsman.
17 May the attempts of France upon Corsica meet with the same Fate as those of Persia upon Greece . . . repulsed with shame.
18 May every British minister be convinced that Nothing is lawful but what is just.
19 Liberty to Mankind.
20 The glorious Sentiment of William the Third.
21 May Fortune encourage and Honour reward the brave Supporters of their native Freedom.
22 May the glorious Spirit of Corsica animate America to the latest Posterity.
23 May Misery, Contempt and Infamy be the Lot of those who owe their Greatness to their Country's Ruin.
24 Liberty and Loyalty.
25 May the illustrious House of Brunswic be as auspicious to the Liberties of America, as it has been to those of Great-Britain.
26 May Licentiousness never be mistaken for Liberty, nor Servility for Loyalty.

[1] Pennsylvania Journal, April 13, 1769.

27 May the Enemies of Liberty feel every Calamity . . . except Slavery.
28 Mrs. McCaulay.
29 Mr. Wilkes.
30 Serjeant Glynn.[1]
31 The County of Middlesex.
32 A speedy Export to all the Enemies of America, without a Drawback.
33 The Massachusetts Ninety-Two.
34 The late Assembly of New-York.
35 The late Assembly of Maryland.
36 The late Assembly of Virginia.
37 The late Assembly of S. Carolina.
38 The late Assembly of Georgia.
39 The Town of Boston.
40 Unanimity to the Colonies.
41 Mr. Delaney.[2]
42 Mr. Cushing.
43 Mr. Otis.
44 Mr. Adams.[3]

It seems probable that there were forty-five toasts and that the newspaper account unintentionally omitted one.[4] Seven of the above toasts relate either to Paoli or Corsica. The selections show who were held in the highest regard at that time by the patriots, both in England and in the colonies.

In 1769, when Paoli was fighting his last battles against the French, his fame in the colonies was greatest, and at its August session in that year the Court of Quarter Sessions held at Chester, Pennsylvania, a town about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia, acted upon a petition presented by Joshua Evans to maintain as a

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[1] John Glynn (1722–1779), counsel for John Wilkes. Glynn himself later was elected to Parliament in the political overturn of this exciting period. It was of him that Wilkes said to George III: "Ah, Sir! he was a Wilkite, which I never was."

[2] Daniel Dulaney (1721–1797), of Maryland. In 1765 Dulaney strenuously opposed the Stamp Act, and in the same year published his Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies. In 1769 he was at the height of his popularity. Later he became a Tory.

[3] Doubtless Samuel Adams, as at this time John Adams was less prominent than his cousin.

[4] The number 45 which was popular at this period represented the number of the North Briton, John Wilkes's publication, which had been attacked by the Crown for its treasonable utterances. There were forty-five toasts at many of the jollifications of the Sons of Liberty, but the colonists were said to have drunk as many as ninety-two toasts and still, according to John Adams, to have remained sober.

tavern his house in Tredyffrin, a small town on the turnpike running to Lancaster.[1] The petition was granted and in response to popular feeling the establishment was called "The General Paoli Tavern." The hostelry was located near the home of Anthony Wayne. It soon became a popular meeting place for the critics of the British government, and by the time of the outbreak of the Revolution had acquired unusual prominence as a convenient point for the patriots to assemble.

In time this tavern came to be referred to colloquially as "The Paoli." [2] Around it there grew up a little settlement which became a hamlet. To this day the locality is known as Paoli and there is a line of the Pennsylvania railroad known as the Paoli Branch.[3]

In this locality occurred the Battle of Paoli, usually called in Pennsylvania the "Massacre of Paoli." This engagement, one of the little-known conflicts of the Revolution, took place on September 20, 1777, in the district adjacent to the Paoli Tavern. It was an aftermath of the battle of Brandywine, which had been fought nine days before. The affair was a night surprise by British troops headed by Major-general Charles Grey. The American forces were led by General Anthony Wayne. Few American histories refer to the event, doubtless because it was a painful reverse for the patriot arms. In brief terms, the affair consisted of an attack upon Wayne's troops delivered between midnight and one o'clock in the morning. The attacking force was much larger than Wayne's detachment, which consisted of about twelve hundred men.

The British used bayonets, and not a shot was fired by them. For that reason the incident has been regarded as an unusual type

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[1] This information was secured for me by Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

E. D. Mansfield, in his Personal Memories, p. 51, describing a journey made through Pennsylvania about 1812, speaks of taverns, saying, "These taverns had special names, such as 'The Black Horse,' and 'The General Wayne,' 'The Ship,' 'The Paoli,' etc., and were noted throughout the country."

[2] At intervals along the Lancaster road there were several other hostelries, one of which came to be known as the Warren. (Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, ii. 163.) It stood about two miles south of the Paoli. It was originally called the Admiral Vernon. See J. T. Faris, Old Roads Out of Philadelphia, p. 140.

[3] See A. E. Newton, The Greatest Book in the World, chap. 5, "Change Cars at Paoli."

of warfare, as many of Wayne's sleeping soldiers were butchered in their beds or as they arose from them in a dazed condition. By the irony of fate, Wayne was there in furtherance of a plan to surprise the British. Wayne was perfectly familiar with the topography of the district, and thought he was safely located. Loyalists, however, were numerous in that section of the country, and through the treachery of neighbors Wayne's hiding place was soon betrayed to the British, who were only four miles distant.

The British soldiers fell on his camp like a whirlwind. They thrust to death sixty-one soldiers, wounded many more, and captured a few, so that the colonial loss was about three hundred, about one fourth of Wayne's command. The general himself barely escaped capture, and much of the baggage had to be abandoned. The British loss did not exceed twelve, which effectively shows Wayne's lack of preparation. The incident was very depressing, and six days later the first detachment of British troops entered Philadelphia, which had been their objective point. Wayne, who was severely criticized for his lack of foresight, at a subsequent court-martial, which he himself sought, was exonerated.[1] This battle is the only one in which Wayne, while having an independent command, was ever defeated.[2]

In the town of Willistown, near the scene of this struggle, there now stands a twenty-two-and-a-half foot monument of Quincy granite which commemorates this battle. It is in a reservation of twenty-three acres and the stone is known as the Paoli monument. Originally a monument was erected in 1817 upon the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the battle, but the present stone was put in place in 1877 at the centennial anniversary of the event.

The inscriptions on three sides of the monument were written in 1817 and copied on the later memorial. As the wording reflects public opinion in Pennsylvania, and shows how the attack was regarded as a deviation from ordinary warfare, it is here reproduced:[3]

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[1] Wayne's defence of his precaution is stated in H. B. Dawson, Battles of the United States, i. 315–317.

[2] For Wayne, see C. J. Stillé, Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army.

[3] Lossing, Pictorial Field-Book, ii. 166–167 note.

[WEST SIDE]

Sacred to the memory of the Patriots who on this spot fell a sacrifice to British barbarity, during the struggle for American Independence, on the night of the 20th September, 1777.

[NORTH SIDE]

The Atrocious Massacre which this stone commemorates was perpetrated by British troops under the immediate command of Major-general Grey.

[SOUTH SIDE]

Here repose the remains of fifty-three [1] American Soldiers, who were the victims of cold-blooded cruelty in the well known Massacre at Paoli, while under the command of General Anthony Wayne, an officer whose military conduct, bravery, and humanity, were equally conspicuous throughout the Revolutionary War.

The British commander who attacked Wayne's troops, Major-general Charles Grey, was an experienced officer and did not believe in dallying and temporizing with the Americans as did some of the other British generals who hoped for an accommodation that would save bloodshed. On the night of the raid on Wayne, Grey ordered his troops to remove the flints from their muskets and to depend upon the bayonet for subduing the enemy. The story that he ordered his men to give no quarter has been denied, but it is certain that few of Wayne's soldiers who were trapped had an opportunity to surrender. There is no doubt that the British used the bayonet effectively that night, and ever afterward Grey was known in America as the "no-flint general." [2]

[1] Only 53 were buried at this point, but 8 others were killed in this night attack.

[2] Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book, i. 764 note. General Grey is not unknown in New England annals, as is seen in the following extract from the Journal of Captain John Montresor in New York Historical Society Collections (Publication Fund Series, 1881), p. 513: "[Sept.] 19th [1778]. . . . This day arrived Major-General Grey from his Expedition — the last to Martha's Vineyard where he took 10,000 sheep, 300 head of Cattle, besides Hogs and 400 stand of arms and 1000 pounds in Paper, Congress Tax — 6000 of the sheep were sent to Rhode Island which the Garrison were much in want of."

Lossing says of the affair at Paoli (Field-Book, ii. 164 note): "A Hessian sergeant, boasting of the exploits of that night at Paoli, exultingly exclaimed, 'What a running about, barefoot, and half clothed, and in the light of their own fires! These showed us where to chase them, while they could not see us. We killed three hundred of the rebels with the bayonet. I stuck them myself like

Fourteen days after the Battle of Paoli, there occurred the Battle of Germantown, in which the British suffered severely. In this contest Wayne led what was left of the soldiers he had commanded at Paoli, and his troops, vividly remembering the recent slaughter of their comrades, grimly turned the tables. The battle was fought October 4, 1777. Two days later Wayne wrote to his wife as follows:[1]

Our People Remembering the action of the Night of the 20th of Sep'r near the Warren — pushed on with their Bayonets — and took Ample Vengeance for that Nights Work — our officers exerted themselves to save many of the poor wretches who were Crying for Mercy — but to little purpose; the Rage and fury of the soldiers were not to be Restrained for some time — at least not until great numbers of the enemy fell by our Bayonets.

The Warren tavern referred to in the letter was kept by Peter Mather, who was a Tory, and it was at this hostelry that the news of Wayne's location in that vicinity was conveyed to the British. In some way the password: "Here we are and there they go!" was learned at the tavern and this was told to Grey. The result was that the British by giving this password got close to

so many pigs, one after another, until the blood ran out of the touch-hole of my musket.'"

American charges against Grey's inhumanity led Sir George Otto Trevelyan, in his American Revolution (N. Y. 1907), Part iii. 234 note, to come to the English general's defence, and to question the authenticity of the letter just quoted. He points out that there were no Hessians in Grey's column and that the letter has the air of a forgery.

Trevelyan also says (pp. 233 and 234): "It once was the fashion in America to write about General Grey as if he was of a pair with Governor Tryon; but in truth he was a high-minded and honourable gentleman, and a soldier every inch of him. He had been on Prince Ferdinand's staff in Germany; was wounded at Minden; and afterwards, like a good comrade, went back to his regiment, and was wounded again at Kloster Kampen. In that memorable camisado Grey learned by personal experience the important truth that, in a night attack, the less noise the better. . . . The affair has often been called, unfairly and almost absurdly, the Massacre of Paoli. Men always attach the idea of cruelty to modes of warfare in which they themselves are not proficient; and Americans liked the bayonet as little as Englishmen approved of taking deliberate aim at individual officers. It was currently reported throughout the Confederacy that quarter had been refused, and that the wounded were stabbed where they lay; but there is no arguing against figures. When the neighboring farmers assembled next morning to bury their fallen countrymen, they found only fifty-three dead bodies."

[1] Stillé: Major-General Anthony Wayne, p. 96.

Wayne's troops before their presence was known. The consequences are thus related in a recent publication:[1]

After the action the landlord, Mather, was charged with having led the British to Paoli, but this he denied. That the people of the neighborhood did not believe him, however, was shown by their avoidance of the tavern and its proprietor. From that day he did not prosper. "God frowned on him," was the popular explanation. From innkeeper he became a drayman. In later years he made his living by pushing a handcart. When the boys saw him on the street they were accustomed to jeer at him. "Here we are and there they go!" and "Remember Paoli!" they would cry.

The "Massacre at Paoli" made an important impression upon Wayne, and the defeat was a rough lesson that he never forgot. Nearly two years later, on July 16, 1779, he captured Stony Point, not far from West Point, and on that occasion his bravery won for him the title of "Mad Anthony." Doubtless he deserves great praise for his exploit at Stony Point, but in view of his unprepared condition at Paoli, where in spite of ample warning his troops were cut to pieces, he might well have been given the title "Mad Anthony" on this earlier occasion.

The significance of his attack on Stony Point lies in the fact that in its essentials it was a reproduction of the procedure of the English at the Battle of Paoli. Like them, Wayne attacked about midnight, with a chosen body of thirteen hundred and fifty troops, and instructed his soldiers to depend upon the bayonet. The only firing of musketry was done by a small detachment, in order to distract the attention of the enemy from the real point of attack. Wayne arranged for two bodies of troops of one hundred and fifty each to approach the fort on the right and left. Each was preceded by an officer leading twenty men, who thus formed a sort of flying wedge.

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[1] J. T. Faris, Old Roads, p. 141. For the Admiral Warren tavern, see p. 192, note 2, above.

A recent account of the battle, written by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker for the dedication at Valley Forge of an equestrian statue to Wayne, says, "At Germantown his [Wayne's] division encountered and attacked the right wing of the British army to the east of the town, charged with bayonets, crying out for 'Paoli and revenge,' put the enemy to rout and pursued them for three miles, killing with little mercy those who were overcome." (Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1908, xxxii. 267.)

Upon this small preliminary group fell the first fury of the defending party, and in one of these advance guards seventeen of the twenty men were either killed or wounded.

The main body quickly followed the initial assault, and the attack was successful. The struggle was soon over and the fort surrendered. The British lost sixty-three killed, seventy wounded, and five hundred and forty-three captured. The Americans had fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Wayne himself was in the forefront and was severely injured. Wayne received the credit for the exploit, which admittedly called for great personal bravery, but it was George Washington who first conceived the idea of the undertaking. Washington selected from among all his generals Wayne as best fitted for this particular assault. He outlined a plan but left the details to the General. Washington afterward said that Wayne had improved his plan of attack. This simply means that Wayne had utilized in reverse form his own experience at Paoli. Historians do not mention this because they know little about the Battle of Paoli.

Although Pennsylvania furnishes the most enduring monument to Paoli's name, the earliest American recognition of the Corsican influence was in Massachusetts. Thus in Boston, at the first anniversary of the 14th of August, the Sons of Liberty in 1766 drank fourteen toasts, of which the twelfth was: "Added vigour to the Spark of liberty kindling in Spain, and Success to General Paoli and the struggling Corsicans." [1]

When the Sons of Liberty of Boston met at the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury on August 15, 1768, for their annual celebration, they drank forty-five toasts. Number 21 of these toasts was: "The truly heroic *Pascal Paoli*, and all the *brave* Corsicans!" This affair started in Boston around Liberty Tree in the South End and culminated in Roxbury. It ended with a parade round Jamaica Pond. It was said that the cavalcade surpassed all that had ever been seen in America.[2] Patriotism at this period was at a high pitch, and the Sons of Liberty were in a militant mood because they were expecting that the Crown soon would send over troops to intimidate the town of Boston.

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[1] Massachusetts Gazette, August 21, 1766.

[2] Massachusetts Gazette, August 18, 1768; Boston Records (The Town of Roxbury), xxiv. 165–166.

It will be recalled also that the British government in the spring of 1768 had attempted to coerce the General Court of Massachusetts. That body, early in the year, had sent to the other colonies a circular letter in which the right to protest against the acts of Parliament had been set forth. This action greatly incensed Lord Hillsborough, Prime Minister, who sent word to Massachusetts that the General Court must rescind its action in issuing the circular letter. This by the decisive vote of ninety-two to seventeen the General Court refused to do. The seventeen who favored the Crown and voted to rescind were immediately attacked in the press, and branded as Rescinders. *Per contra* the ninety-two who refused to rescind were hailed as heroes and patriots. The incident at once became a *cause célèbre*, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the other colonies. It was a test of strength significant of future contests in the Legislature, finally to culminate nearly seven years later at Lexington and Concord in the appeal to arms.

One of the results of this situation was the printing of a satirical article which purported to be an account of a celebration held in the "nether Dominions of his Inf——l M——y."[1] The story ran: "We hear that a very magnificent Festival has been celebrated in the Capital of his Highness on account of the late vigorous exertions of his faithful Servant, in the noble Cause of oppression and slavery." At this celebration, so this news account reported, there were seventeen toasts, — the number equalling the number of rescinders. These toasts were phrased in the same satirical vein, and Number 7 was: "Vigour to the arms of *France*, the Downfall of *Corsica*, and Destruction of *Paschal Paoli*." This is cited merely to show that the General's name continued a topic of conversation at this period. The other toasts were in similar vein. For instance, Number 16 was: "May the Legs of *Pitt* be still fetter'd with the Gout, and those of a *Wilkes* still be gouted with Fetters."

In spite of American disapproval of British policies, the loyalty of the average colonist to the King himself is one of the most surprising features disclosed by a study of the pre-revolutionary period. The blame, it seems, was attached to the Ministry, the members of which, so the colonists thought, were deceiving the King. On June 5, 1769, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts ob-

[1] Boston Gazette, Supplement, August 15, 1768.

served His Majesty's birthday and drank, neither forty-five nor ninety-two, but twenty-four toasts. An examination of these toasts shows that Pascal Paoli was included in the number. The inclusion of Paoli's name by the lower branch of the Legislature is significant, inasmuch as heretofore in Massachusetts the Corsican had been championed only by the Sons of Liberty, admittedly a much more radical organization than the General Court. It will be observed that Wilkes, Glynn, and the other English radicals were entirely omitted from the toasts, while English statesmen known to be friendly to the colonial cause were included. The following list, if studied with care, shows that the thoughts of the law-makers of Massachusetts moved in a high plane and covered a wide latitude. It almost suggests not a League of Nations, but a league of national thought. The toasts follow:[1]

1. The King, Queen and Royal Family.
2. North America.
3. The Restoration of Harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies.
4. Prosperity and Perpetuity to the British Empire in all Parts of the World.
5. The Marquis of Rockingham and the glorious Administration of 1766.
6. Duke of Richmond.
7. Lord Chatham.
8. Lord Cambden.
9. General Conway.
10. Lord Shelburne.
11. Lord Dartmouth.
12. The late Governor Pownal.
13. Col. Barre.
14. Mr. Burke.
15. Dr. Lucas the Patriot of Ireland.[2]
16. Paschal Paoli and his brave Corsicans.
17. The Cantons of Switzerland.[3]

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[1] Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser, June 19, 1769.

[2] Charles Lucas (1713–1771), Irish physician and politician who as a pamphleteer offended the House of Commons and was voted by it an enemy to the country. He retired to France but was pardoned by George III, and subsequently was elected to the House of Commons. He advocated more liberal rights for the Irish Parliament, and defended the interests of the Protestants in Ireland. He championed principles much the same as those urged by the modern Protestant leaders of Ulster.

[3] Cantons or districts are mentioned in the French treaty of 1452 and in the treaties of Westphalia in 1648, but are not officially recognized in Switzerland until 1799. At the time of this toast the Helvetic Society, founded in 1762, was advocating the establishment of a republic in Switzerland.

18. The King of Prussia.[1]
19. The King of Sardinia.[2]
20. The distressed Poles.[3]
21. Their High Mightiness, the States-General of the Seven United Provinces.[4]
22. The Farmer of Pennsylvania and all American Patriots.
23. The Republick of Letters.
24. Liberty without Licentiousness to all Mankind.

Doubtless Paoli was a popular toast at the meetings of patriots in many towns, other than Boston, in the eastern part of Massachusetts, but not many of their proceedings have been preserved. One reference to Paoli's cause is found in an account of a celebration by the Sons of Liberty on September 19, 1768, at Petersham. There were thirteen toasts at this affair, the sixth of which was: "The brave Corsicans." [5]

A striking recognition of the popularity of the Corsican general in Massachusetts is found in the naming by John Hancock of one of his merchant vessels as the Paoli. The exact date at which the ship received her name cannot be stated, but it almost certainly was in the latter part of 1768. The first printed notice of her sailing is dated January 14, 1769, the vessel being booked for early passage to England.[6] Discerning British statesmen might well have noted the significance of Hancock's choice of Paoli as the name for one of his ships. It was a plain indication of his admiration for a man who was fighting against tyranny.

An idea of Hancock's business acumen can be secured from a letter written on December 27, 1770, to his London agents, Haley and Hopkins, in which he speaks of the Paoli:

[1] The reference is to Frederick II, known in history as Frederick the Great, who ruled Prussia from 1740 to 1786. He greatly increased the prestige of Prussia and was aided at times in his military conquests by England, which explains his popularity in America.

[2] Charles Emmanuel III, in whose reign of forty-three years (1730–1773) the prosperity of the island was very marked.

[3] Russia was harassing Poland at this time and Prussia was assisting her. The situation was preliminary to the first partition of Poland, which occurred in 1772.

[4] The States-General of the Netherlands. The States-General, while disappearing as a political unit in 1796, is the title borne by the Dutch Parliament of today.

[5] Boston Gazette, September 26, 1768.

[6] Boston Gazette, January 16, 1769; Boston Post-Boy, January 16, 1769.

I fear you will think me rather guilty of Intrusion with my navigation, having so often occasion to request your favour with respect to freight for my vessels. In the case of the Paoli, beg to say that if without interfering with your more particular connections, you could give the Paoli freight back to Boston, I should take it a singular favour, but upon the whole, if a freight back cannot be had & Brig will not fetch £800 sterling or more, I must ask the favr. of you to send her to Lisbon for a load of salt to bring to Boston, which you will please to conduct for me. I give Capt. Hall orders accordingly, and in case of war, please to Insure £800 on the Brig the whole voyage, and also the amount of the Salt Cargo, and if a war, please to keep my navigation fully insured, Goods and freight; this you will please to note.[1]

The following memorandum made by Joseph Peirce is of interest because the goods conveyed in the Paoli arrived at a time inconvenient for him, as he was caught in the toils of a non-importation agreement. As a sidelight upon the difficulties of a merchant in Boston at this period when the radical colonists were holding a non-importation agreement as a club over the British government, the invoice account is noteworthy:[2]

Memorandum of Goods imported from London by Joseph Peirce in the Brigantine Paoli, James Hall, Master, dated Boston. June 10th, 1769.

1 small Cask qt^{y} glass ware.
1 small trunk qt^{y} 4 pt printed linnen hand^{s}.
1 small case qt^{y} Haberdashery.
1 case & 1 bale qt^{y} Linnens.
1 small box qt^{y} 3 doz Stoughtons elixir.

The above memorandum of Goods amounted to £191.5.6 Stg. having unluckily, arriv'd since the commencement of the time for non importation and, a committee being appointed by the Merchants and Traders of this Town to recieve all such Goods, although I never signd, nor was ever apply'd to to sign the agreement enterd into by the Merchants & Traders for non-importation of British Goods, yet, I do cheerfully, of my own free will and accord, put the said Goods under the direction of the committee aforesaid, and promise upon my honor not to dispose

[1] A. E. Brown, John Hancock, His Book, p. 170.

[2] The original document is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

of a single article, without their approbation & consent, — and as I also expect a package in another Vessel, I further promise whenever it may arrive to put it under the same direction.

JOSEPH PEIRCE

Boston June 10th 1769

That the Corsican leader remained in the minds of the radicals of Boston is still further evidenced by an article, more than a column in length, in the Boston Gazette for January 30, 1769, signed Paoli. In this spirited communication Governor Francis Bernard is criticized in most caustic terms. The reference to him is by the title "Verres," thus comparing him to Caius Verres (c. 120–143 B.C.), Roman Governor of Sicily, who is famous for his bad administration. Whoever wrote the article in the Gazette was familiar with Roman history, and recognized the force and propriety of signing himself Paoli, thereby contrasting the Corsican patriot with the tyrant of Sicily. The author is not known, but the vigor and sting of the phrasing suggest Josiah Quincy, Jr., Dr. Thomas Young, or Dr. Benjamin Church as the author.

Dr. Thomas Young, who in the summer of 1769 corresponded with John Wilkes of London in behalf of the Sons of Liberty of Boston, when writing to him speaks of Paoli as follows: "Paschal Paoli in Leghorn, no doubt on his way to Frederick; where the Hero, neglected by Britain, will be received with open arms. *Heus patriae nuper terror, nunc gentium fastidium!*" [1]

The Doctor's letter also shows that the Wilkes correspondence was brought by Hancock's vessel. In a letter to Wilkes, on July 6, 1769, he wrote: "On reception of your last from Capt. Hall in the *Paoli*, we assembled, and after spending the evening very agreeably four gentlemen were added to the committee." [2]

A few weeks later the Sons of Liberty of Boston assembled for their fourth annual celebration of the 14th of August. On that morning in 1769 the members met at Liberty Tree in the South End and drank fourteen toasts. The eleventh was: "Speedy Deliverance to the illustrious PAOLI and the brave Corsicans." [3] In the after-

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xlvii. 210.
[2] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xlvii. 202.
[3] Boston Evening Post, August 21, 1769.

noon three hundred and fifty-five of the Sons of Liberty went to Liberty Tree Tavern, in Dorchester, known also as Robinson's Tavern, and there drank forty-five toasts.[1] Number 27 was: "Paschal Paoli, the brave Corsicans, and the generous Individuals who have nobly contributed to their relief, against the Despotism of Genoa, and the most infamous Attack from France, while shamefully neglected by every power in Europe." At this time Paoli had recently suffered what proved to be his final defeat, and was in flight from Corsica.

Twice in 1769 the Genuine Sons of Liberty of New York showed their attachment to the cause of liberty by honoring Paoli when drinking toasts to men and measures. At the house of Edward Smith, "Innkeeper in the Fields," [2] on March 19 of that year, the members of this organization drank twenty-two toasts, of which Number 19 was: "Success to that uncorrupted Patriot General Paoli, and the brave Corsicans." On the same day at another large meeting at the house of Mr. Vanderwater, the same health was drunk.[3]

On November 1 of this same year, at the house of Mr. De La Montagne, in the Fields, the toast "Paschal Paoli and his Honest Countrymen" was drunk.[4] The phrasing of this toast perhaps indicates that the failure of his campaign is recognized, but its justice is in no way lessened.

The Sons of Liberty of New York continued to drink toasts to the Corsican hero, who to them typified defiance of monarchy, and in 1770, when the organization purchased a house at the corner of Broadway and Bowery Road to use as headquarters, it was called "Hampden Hall." At this house on March 19, 1770, a patriotic celebration, which was in the nature of a house-warming, was attended by three hundred people. On this occasion the usual forty-

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[1] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xi. 140–142; Boston Evening Post, August 21, 1769.

[2] The expression "in the Fields" perhaps is the adoption of an English phrase, meaning outside the city limits; other newspaper notices of this meeting say that they met "on the Green."

[3] Holt's New-York Journal, March 23, 1769.

[4] Gaines' New York Gazette & Weekly Mercury, November 6, 1769. This reference and the previous one were furnished me by Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

five toasts were drunk, Number 30 of which was "General Paoli."[1] This was the last time that the name of Paoli was publicly invoked by the New York Sons of Liberty, and he seems elsewhere about this time to have disappeared from the list of heroes who were toasted on convivial occasions. His campaign for freedom having proved unsuccessful, it was useless in the American colonies to attempt to encourage enthusiasm by referring to a cause that was lost. Thus Paoli passed from view. His place was taken by events such as the Boston Massacre, the burning of the Gaspee, the Boston Tea Party, and other domestic developments which in turn occupied the stage and were preliminary to the Revolution.

In spite of the great popularity of Paoli in America just before the Revolution, displayed in the evidence offered here, it appears that, after the war was well under way, rumors spread in the colonies that the Corsican general had accepted a command in the British army and was fighting against his American admirers. George Clinton, while stationed at New Windsor, N. Y., wrote this entry in his papers on February 21, 1777: "Authentic advise has been Receiv'd at Head Quarters that the famous (or Infamous) Pascal Paole, the Corsican chief is now in Canada and has a Command in the British army."[2] This report was unfounded, as Paoli never came to America. One naturally wonders, however, whether the British did not unavailingly seek to enlist his aid.

Another side of Paoli's influence is seen in the fact that several patriot families in Boston named sons Paoli, or Pascal Paoli. One of these admirers was Ebenezer Mackintosh, the Stamp Act rioter and patriot.[3] The given name has even persisted in New England until modern times — a man named Paschal Paoli Leavens (1804–1874) living in Berkshire, Vermont, comparatively recently. This Mr. Leavens sprang from a family that emigrated to Vermont from Killingly, Connecticut, another straw indicating that Paoli's influence had spread into that colony. The Connecticut newspapers of this period contained many references to Paoli's military exploits copied from the current English newspapers.

[1] I. Q. Leake, Life of John Lamb, p. 62; Holt's New-York Journal, March 29, 1770.

[2] Public Papers of General Clinton, i. 622. This item was called to my attention by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle.

[3] See pp. 45–46, above.

In his study of the Leavens name, the Rev. Philo F. Leavens traces the emigration from Connecticut to Vermont, and after naming the children of Penuel Leavens, in which list appears the name of Paschal Paoli Leavens, observes:[1]

> We pause at the singular name of this second son and ask ourselves where it was obtained. To answer the question will show the intelligence and sympathies of the times. Paschal Paoli . . . from 1757 was generalissimo of his country (Corsica) and ruled it with great wisdom for thirteen years. By an unworthy bargain Corsica was then sold to France [by the Genoese] and Paoli retired to England. He was living there during the period of the American War of Independence. . . . This Paschal Paoli was one of the best known men of the last century. It will readily be believed that my heart gave a throb when I came upon his monument in Westminster Abbey. I take it as significant, that his fame had penetrated the wilderness of Vermont and made such an impression that his name was bestowed upon the child born in the year 1804. The fact shows, I say, that the people clearing up new estates in Windsor [Vermont], took into the circle of their thoughts the affairs of all the world and were in sympathy with the mighty struggle for liberty and the "rights of man" waging on all sides.

It is interesting to add that one of Paschal Paoli Leavens' sons, born January 4, 1836, was named Henry Paoli.

The first-born son of Captain Samuel Tenney of Oakham, Worcester County, Massachusetts, was named Paschal Paoli Tenney. He was born October 12, 1812.[2] This appearance of the name, a generation after the Corsican general had ceased to be an active influence in colonial affairs is surprising, and illustrates the extent of the impress of his reputation on New England.

One of the results of this study of Paoli's influence may be the possible solving of the meaning of some of the initials appended by the Sons of Liberty to their otherwise anonymous public notices posted during the Stamp Act period and subsequently. I present herewith what may prove to be a partial solution. Briefly stated, my theory is that the initials used in at least two cases represent persons who had committed their lives to the cause of liberty. The

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[1] P. F. Leavens, The Leavens Name, its Origin and its Track Through New England to Northern Vermont, p. 17.

[2] The Tenney Family, pp. 159, 316; Oakham Vital Records, p. 49.

first clue is secured by noting that the Sons of Liberty at Wallingford, Connecticut, signed a set of resolutions dated January 13, 1766, with these words: "A true copy, examined per P. P. clerk." The document maintains that the Stamp Act is unconstitutional and calls for a meeting of the Sons of Liberty in each town in the county, to be held at the court house in New Haven on the third Tuesday of February, 1766.[1]

Assume that the initials P. P. appended to the Wallingford resolutions stand for Pascal Paoli, the Corsican patriot. An examination of the records of the pre-revolutionary families of Wallingford does not disclose any person whose initials are P. P. Bearing in mind that the Sons of Liberty at this period was a secret organization, it is hardly probable that the initials of any actual resident of Wallingford or vicinity would have been attached to such a notice. The initials appended assuredly were not chosen at random. What is more natural than the conjecture that to the initiated Son of Liberty, at least to those known as "high Sons of Liberty," those symbols meant an inspiration because they stood for some one who was battling or had battled for liberty?[2]

In Boston, the Sons of Liberty attached various initials or names to their notices. Just before the Boston Tea Party, on November 3, 1773, when the question of the disposition of the tea that was soon to arrive was agitating the radicals of the town, a notice was posted reading as follows:

To the Freemen *of this and the neighboring* Towns.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are desired to meet at LIBERTY-TREE THIS DAY, at TWELVE O'Clock, at Noon — Then and there to hear the Persons to whom the Tea, shipped by the East India Company is consign'd, make a publick Resignation of their office as Consigners upon oath — And also swear that they will re-ship any Teas that may be consigned to them by the said Company by the first vessel sailing for LONDON.

Boston, November 3, 1773. O. C. *sec'ry.*

Shew us the Man that *Dare* take down this.

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[1] American Museum, iv. 188 (August, 1788).

[2] It is worth noting, however, that P. P. is an abbreviation for "parish priest," and p. p. for "per procurationem," "by proxy," and the initials on the document in question may represent no more than such an abbreviation.

Search does not disclose that the signature O. C. represents any known Boston radical figure. It might, however, stand for Oliver Cromwell and hence fit into the theory that the initials of men whose lives had been dedicated to reform and the championship of liberty were employed by the Sons of Liberty in signing some of their public notices. That Cromwell's name was in the minds of some of the Boston radicals about this period is evidenced by the fact that Nathaniel Barber, a sturdy patriot, named a son who was born August 24, 1768, Oliver Cromwell Barber.[1] There was also the long-established inn in School Street, kept by Joshua Brackett, another patriot, known as "O. Cromwell's Head Tavern." This hostelry was so detested by the royalists that when some of them had occasion to traverse School Street, they habitually chose the other side of the street, rather than pass under the tavern signboard which exhibited a painting of the bust of the Lord Protector. No argument is required to demonstrate that the colonists were well aware that Cromwell at a critical period in English history had taken arms against his King and for a time had established a noteworthy reform régime. What more natural, then, than the employment of the initials of such a statesman by the Sons of Liberty, who were waging a campaign in favor of parliamentary reforms?

This theory that O. C. stands for Oliver Cromwell is reinforced by the knowledge that a little later anonymous notices in Boston were signed "Joyce Junior," another reference to a figure in the Cromwell era.[2] It is perhaps significant, too, that both the Joyce Junior and O. C. notices close with a warning against the tearing down of the notices. Mr. Albert Matthews has made out a strong case indicating that Joyce Junior is a reference to George Joyce, who, it was said, executed King Charles I. The adoption of the names of these revolutionary figures as signatures for the militant notices of this period is another striking indication of the deep-seated purposes of the colonists. They, too, were protesting against the ministerial policies of England, and meant to show that they were ready to overthrow their King.

Corroborating evidence to support the Oliver Cromwell theory is

[1] Boston Records, xxiv. 316.

[2] For an interesting discussion of the significance of Joyce Junior, see two articles by Mr. Albert Matthews in our Publications, viii. 90–104, and xi. 280–294.

supplied by an examination of the proceedings of the Sons of Liberty in New York. This evidence relates to a very early period in the history of that organization, near the very beginning of the Stamp Act troubles, in November, 1765. The Sons of Liberty of New York were most zealous during the Stamp Act period, and from the first found consolation and comfort in the attitude of John Holt, who published the New-York Journal. The organization, however, was fearful that Holt would shrink from the responsibility of issuing his newspaper on unstamped paper, which would be in direct violation of law.

As November 1, 1765, approached, the day when the Stamp Act was to go into effect, the situation in New York became tense. On the evening of October 31, the Sons of Liberty threw a letter into the window of the publisher's office, admonishing and threatening him in case he contemplated stopping the publication of his paper. Holt responded with a manifesto resolving to issue his newspaper as usual. Holt was always a dependable patriot and the notice probably was entirely unnecessary.

The text of the warning follows:[1]

As you have hitherto proved yourself a friend of liberty, by publishing such compositions as had a tendency to promote the cause we are engaged in, we are encouraged to hope you will not be deterred from continuing your useful paper, by groundless fear of the detestable Stamp Act.

However, should you at this critical time shut up the press, and basely desert us, depend upon it, your house, person, and effects will be in imminent danger. We shall therefore expect your paper on Thursday as usual; if not on Thursday evening.

Take CARE.

Signed in the name, and by the order, of a great number of the Free Sons of New York.

On the Turf, the 2d November, 1765
JOHN HAMPDEN

The especially interesting feature of the above notice is the signature, John Hampden. This name, of course, is not that of a New York patriot, but that of the great English statesman and soldier (c. 1595–1643) whose history is identified with the early struggle

[1] Leake, Life of John Lamb, pp. 13, 14, note.

against King Charles I and his party. In his day Hampden, indeed, was a "son of liberty," and for that reason his name was invoked by the liberals of New York. This signature supports the theory that "O. C." stood for Oliver Cromwell. Holt's paper was popular among the Boston radicals, and the various colonial organizations of the Sons of Liberty are known to have copied each other's methods.

This hypothesis that the Sons of Liberty appended to their notices the initials of men who had been champions of liberty, meets with a check when one considers that most of the early notices of that Boston organization were signed "M. Y." This signature seems not to represent the initials of any known English, continental, or colonial man who could instinctively be associated with campaigns for liberty or reform. I have searched in vain in biographies for a champion of liberty whose initials were "M. Y.," who would have been known to the group of Boston radicals, but no man fulfilling the conditions is found. On that account the theory appears to have a flaw, but the evidence in behalf of "O. C." is so strong that it does not seem as if it should be abandoned in spite of the fact that "M. Y." is a stumbling block.

The problem of discovering who "M. Y." may be, is left to be solved by more skilled and learned students of history. There is, however, some consolation in the present failure to identify "M. Y.," for the authorship of those notices seems to have been a mystery in the colonial days when the notices so signed were posted in Boston.

Finally, there are at least six localities in this country that bear the name Paoli. First there is the hamlet in Pennsylvania where the battle was fought. Probably the other places either directly or indirectly received their name from this village. Next comes the shire town of Orange County, Indiana, about seventy miles east of Vincennes.[1] In 1816 Indiana was admitted to the Union as a state, and in this same year the town of Paoli was first settled, being then in the midst of a forest country. By the census of 1920 the town had a population of 1635. The town clerk, A. Ray Gasaway, after investigation and consultation with local historians, writes me that it is the current belief there that the town was named for "General

[1] Harlow Lindly, Indiana as Seen by Early Travellers, p. 201.

Paschal Paoli of Corsica." The influence of Pennsylvania in the settlement of Indiana was very marked, and doubtless some of Wayne's old soldiers located in that state, as there is a Wayne County and the city of Fort Wayne. Within twenty-five miles of Paoli is the town of New Philadelphia, a suggestion of the influence of the Keystone State in the settlement of that section of the country.

Two other towns called Paoli, both small, are found, one in Oklahoma, and the other in Colorado. There also are post offices called Paoli in Wisconsin and North Dakota. The origin of all four doubtless could be traced either to the Pennsylvania village or its offshoot, the Indiana town. So the Corsican patriot's name is permanently perpetuated in an overseas republic, while his native isle remains a Department of France.[1] Paoli's dream of independence for Corsica not only remains unfulfilled, but the movement for freedom for the island seems to have disappeared as a political issue.

One readily believes that Paoli deserved the long-distance worship the colonists for a few years accorded him. Yet to-day in our libraries there cannot be found any biographical study of Paoli which touches upon the fact that he ever exerted even a passing influence upon American affairs. None the less, study makes it apparent that Paoli was an inspiration to the Sons of Liberty in those stirring days when public opinion was being shaped so that later it was possible for the colonies to take a stand for independence.

It is especially fitting that Paoli's bicentennial should not pass unnoticed by this society which pays particular attention to events of the colonial period. Paoli's personality, perhaps, hereafter will appear less obscure, and his nobility of purpose will be a little better appreciated.

[1] So far as I have been able to learn there is no monument to him in America.

MARCH MEETING, 1925

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, March 26, 1925, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Albert Matthews communicated the following paper, written by Mr. Arthur H. Buffinton of Williams College:

GOVERNOR DUDLEY AND THE PROPOSED TREATY OF NEUTRALITY, 1705

Joseph Dudley is one of the enigmatical characters of our colonial history. His own generation could interpret his connivance in the destruction of the semi-independent position of his native commonwealth and his successful quest of office under the new régime only as gross betrayals of trust prompted by an unscrupulous ambition. A hostile contemporary described him as one who "was Intrusted with the Precious *Depositum*, their Greatest Treasure, their Religious Priviledges, and Civil Liberties," and who betrayed both.[1] When, after many years of residence in England, Dudley returned as Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the storms of passion were somewhat abated, and men could tolerate him and were willing to support him for a price, but there is no sign that they either admired or trusted him. To most of them he was still the traitor of 1684.

Succeeding generations also could not understand this man.

[1] "The Deplorable State of New-England," 5 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vi. 99*. This tract was inspired by Cotton Mather.

Forty years after his death, according to Thomas Hutchinson,[1] his acts and motives were still a subject of controversy in his native province. The judgment of Hutchinson himself, a man not intrinsically hostile to Dudley, is perhaps one of the justest ever passed. "He had," says the historian, "as many virtues as can consist with so great a thirst for honor and power." [2]

Even the scientific historians of the present, far removed in time and outlook from the conflicts of Dudley's age, have been no more able to pass a unanimous verdict. That Palfrey, still regretting the downfall of the theocracy, should call him "not only without scruples, but without shame;" [3] that Bancroft, judging all men and events in the light of the foreordained independence of America, could speak of him as "an apostate son" of Massachusetts,[4] is perhaps not surprising. But Professor Channing calls him "a time-serving son of New England," [5] and the English historian, Doyle, points the contrast, at Dudley's expense, between the humiliation of Massachusetts at the hands of the English government and the enhanced fortunes of its erstwhile magistrate and servant.[6] Even his biographer, Kimball, can find little in his character and motives to admire, and pictures him as one who, like Louis XI, apparently believed that "he who has success has honor." [7]

The historians most favorable to Dudley are those who emphasize the imperial side of colonial history. Thus Professor Osgood has pictured him as one who consciously chose to act the part of mediator between England and Massachusetts, and, in this rôle, rendered great services to his native province.[8] The reaction against the older and more unfavorable view of Dudley reaches its height in the recent work of J. T. Adams, who has compared Dudley's conduct in 1684 with that of General Robert E. Lee in 1867 in opposing those who advocated a refusal to vote for members of the Virginia

[1] History of Massachusetts (1768), ii. 213.

[2] ii. 214. This is cited with approval by Parkman in his Half-Century of Conflict (1906), i. 107.

[3] History of New England, iv. 344.

[4] History of the United States (1883), ii. 68.

[5] History of the United States, ii. 169.

[6] English Colonies in America (1889), iii. 217.

[7] Public Life of Joseph Dudley (1911), pp. 1 ff., 204 ff. The comparison with Louis XI is mine.

[8] American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (1907), iii. 385.

Constitutional Convention.[1] This really is applying too thick a coat of whitewash. To find a just parallel in the two cases one would have to suppose that General Lee sought the position of military governor of Virginia under the Reconstruction Act of March, 1867.

It is questionable whether Dudley himself, could he have been reincarnated in the time of General Lee, would have recognized the resemblance. He was far too intelligent a man to be self-deceived, just as he was keen enough to see that no amount of explanation would excuse that one irrevocable act by which he had chosen to abandon the waning cause of colonial independence for the rising cause of imperial control. This habit of neglecting to explain the reasons for his acts grew upon him, to the confusion of the historian, so that even where one is morally certain that his policies were conceived in the public interest and his motives above reproach, one is often baffled in the search for evidence to justify one's belief.[2]

Dudley was above all else a politician, using that word in both the better and the worse sense. He was surrounded by enemies ready to question his every act and to attribute to him always the worst of motives. Like most politicians, Dudley was intent on playing the game, and was willing to leave to others the task of justifying his moves. Like most politicians, he seldom took men into his confidence, and even where there was nothing to conceal, he preferred to work in the dark. To separate the good from the bad in his character, the less worthy from the more worthy in his motives for action in any given case, is a task of no mean magnitude for the historian who would strike a just balance in his judgment of this distinguished, able, but baffling son of New England.

But whatever judgment may be passed upon other aspects of his career, upon one thing students of the period are all agreed, he was an unusually capable administrator. It was his fortune to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire during the difficult period of the second French War (1702–1713).[3] The absorption of the English government in the European conflict, and the neutrality, during the first part of the war, of the province of New York and

[1] Founding of New England (1921), p. 408 and note 4.

[2] This is well brought out by Kimball, pp. 112, 115, 206.

[3] Dudley's term as governor ran from 1702 to 1715.

the Iroquois Confederation, threw the burden of the defence of the New England frontier against French and Indian attacks very largely upon Massachusetts. The wide-flung commerce of the province and the fisheries so vital to its welfare had also to be protected. Dudley's work as war governor was so successful as to win for him the commendation of the chosen representatives of the two provinces under his control.[1] Among the war governors of provincial Massachusetts, Shirley alone deserves to be compared with him.

Even in this most successful field of his activities, however, Dudley has not escaped criticism. A series of events in the years 1704–1706 made it possible for his enemies to represent his policy in a most unfavorable light, and to make a serious attempt to drive him from office.[2] In brief, the charge brought against him was that he was not in favor of a serious attack upon the French, especially the settlement of Port Royal, but preferred to let them remain in order that he and his friends might profit from an illicit trade with them. Dudley's unfortunate refusal to let Church attack Port Royal in 1704, the prolonged negotiations of 1704–1706 with the French, which culminated in a proposal for a treaty of neutrality, and the discovery in 1706 that certain men engaged in the exchange of prisoners and others, among them Samuel Vetch who had been one of Dudley's chief agents in the 1705 negotiations, had been trading with the French in Acadia, were the events which gave color to these charges.

While historians have given little or no credence to the main charge against Dudley, there is still much difference of opinion among them concerning his negotiations in the year 1705. Did Dudley, or did he not, propose in that year a treaty of neutrality? The question is of some importance for the light it sheds upon the attitude of Dudley and his province towards the French at this time. New England historians have been fond of assuming that the policy

[1] See the address of the Council and Assembly of Massachusetts of July 12, 1704, in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1704–5, no. 451, and that of the Council and Assembly of New Hampshire of October 22, 1707, in id., 1708–9, no. 65, iv. This publication will be cited henceforth as Calendar.

[2] Three pamphlets called forth by the controversy of this period are printed in 5 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vi. Two of them set forth the case against Dudley; the third is a defence.

of Massachusetts was far more consistently hostile towards the French than that of New York, for instance; that the former province, indeed, has an unbroken record of hostility which ended only when the flag of France disappeared from Canada. By way of contrast they point to the policy of neutrality which the province of New York was pursuing at this very time. If Dudley attempted a policy of neutrality in 1705, there is obviously little to choose between him and the authorities of New York, save that the latter succeeded where he failed, and the indignation of New England historians at the cowardly and selfish policy of New York is wasted.

It may be said at the outset that there is a certain presumption in favor of the view that Dudley did propose a treaty of neutrality. The reluctance of all the colonies to fight the French except where colonial interests and security were endangered is too well known to require elaboration. Long ago the ablest of colonial historians gave it as his opinion that, had the Eastern Indians remained quiet, Massachusetts would have been glad to keep the peace with the French.[1] Is it not natural, then, to accept the evidence that Dudley sought, by a treaty of neutrality, to relieve his province of the burdens of a war which the other colonies were reluctant to share? The answer is that the evidence is not conclusive, and the historian must not throw out contradictory evidence to accept presuppositions.

Concerning the earlier stages of the negotiations between Dudley and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France, there is no dispute. The facts, therefore, may be summarized briefly. Late in August, 1704, shortly after the return of Church from his raid on Acadia, Dudley wrote his first letter suggesting an exchange of prisoners.[2] Receiving no reply, he proposed to the Council, on September 25, to send a certain Arthur Jeffrey with two French prisoners to Quebec to arrange an exchange of prisoners and to get information about the place.[3] Finally, in December, John Sheldon

[1] Hutchinson, ii. 141.

[2] Collection de Manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et autres Documents Historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle France (Quebec, 1884), ii. 425. This will be cited henceforth as Collection de Manuscrits. The letter is translated in the Massachusetts Province Laws, viii. 498. Practically all the documents bearing upon the negotiations are printed in the notes to that volume by its editor, Mr. A. C. Goodell.

[3] Council Records, iv. 79.

and John Wells of Deerfield appeared in Boston seeking permission to go to Canada to ransom their relatives and friends who had been in captivity ever since the Deerfield massacre of the preceding February. Permission was granted and plans were made to send them by sea to Casco, and thence overland, but a few days later it proved possible to secure the services of Captain John Livingston, son of Robert Livingston of Albany and son-in-law of Governor Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, who offered to conduct the Deerfield men to Canada via Albany.[1] The Council on December 19 authorized his employment, and the three agents set out bearing another letter to Vaudreuil proposing an exchange of prisoners.[2]

At this point it is well to state the reasons given by Dudley himself for setting on foot the negotiations. In a speech of December 27, 1704, to the General Court, he defined them as "to relieve ours in their hands and to quit us of the charge of theirs," and to get "some account of the posture of the french to Direct us in our future Method."[3] In a letter of July 25, 1705, to the Board of Trade, he gave substantially the same reasons.[4]

It is also to be noted that it was shortly before this that Dudley made his first definite recommendation of an attack upon Canada.[5] These facts should be kept in mind for their bearing upon Dudley's state of mind in the late autumn of 1704. Previously, in May, 1703, he had noted that an attack upon Quebec was feasible,[6] but at this time he felt the chances of success were good because of the recent capture by the English of the annual store-ship for Canada. Dudley, then, clearly had in mind not merely an exchange of prisoners, but the securing of information which might facilitate an attack upon Canada.

In due time Dudley's agents reached Quebec, and to their proposition for an exchange Vaudreuil assented in principle. In March, 1705, he despatched a long letter to Dudley replying to the latter's communications, and sent it by Samuel Hill of Wells and two French-

[1] Council Records, iv. 125; Province Laws, viii. 499; G. Sheldon, History of Deerfield (1895), i. 325–326.

[2] Council Records, iv. 128; Province Laws, viii. 362.

[3] Court Records, viii. 95; Massachusetts Archives, cviii. 23.

[4] Calendar, 1704–5, no. 1274.

[5] Id. 1704–5, nos. 679, 680.

[6] Id. 1702–3, no. 673.

men.[1] Early in May, Livingston, Sheldon, and Wells, with a few rescued captives, and accompanied by the Sieur de Courtemanche and eight French soldiers, left for Boston.[2] Courtemanche was a man of some prominence who was sent to arrange the details of the exchange.[3]

The details of the negotiations between Dudley and Courtemanche do not concern us, since there is no evidence that the question of neutrality was raised between them.[4] After staying about a month in Boston, during which time he seems to have been on the best of terms with the Governor, Courtemanche returned to Quebec by sea in a vessel commanded by Samuel Vetch and accompanied by the Governor's son, William, who had just graduated from Harvard College.[5] The alleged reason for sending Courtemanche back by sea was that he had been ill and could not stand the fatigue of an overland journey.

It is from this point that the difficulty in interpreting Dudley's policy begins. Courtemanche carried with him a letter from Dudley to Vaudreuil with proposals for a cartel, or agreement, for the exchange of prisoners. As a sample of what he had in mind, Dudley gave Courtemanche for Vaudreuil's perusal a copy of the cartel recently signed by the Governor of Martinique and the Governors of the English Leeward Islands.[6]

Nothing was heard from the agents for more than four months, and Dudley was becoming both anxious and impatient, when, on the twenty-first of November, Vetch and young Dudley appeared, bringing with them the draught of a treaty of neutrality. This was to become binding only in case it was signed by Dudley and the governors of the other English colonies, especially the Governor of New York, by the end of the following February.[7]

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[1] Province Laws, viii. 500; Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 428.

[2] Sheldon, i. 329.

[3] His instructions are in Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 432. They are translated in Province Laws, viii. 480.

[4] Their course is traced in Province Laws, viii. 480–482, 511–514.

[5] Id. viii. 512; Sheldon, i. 329.

[6] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 438; Province Laws, viii. 513.

[7] Province Laws, viii. 538; 6 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, iii. 317; 5 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vi. 142. There are two slightly different versions of the proposed treaty, one in Collection de Manuscrits,

Leaving aside for the moment the question as to who was responsible for giving this new turn to the negotiations, it may be well to trace them to their conclusion, since even the learned editor of the Province Laws did not, at the time he wrote, know the whole story.

Five days after the arrival of Vetch, Dudley submitted to the Council for its approval the draught of a letter to Governor Cornbury of New York transmitting the treaty to him for consideration. At approximately the same time the treaty and the draught letter to Cornbury were submitted to the General Court for its advice.[1] The Court, although leaving it to the Governor to reply as might seem best to him, advised against acceptance, as well it might, for the treaty contained among other things stringent prohibitions of trade and fishing by either party on the coasts of the other, something which Massachusetts could never agree to without damage to its most vital interests.

The action of New York was likewise unfavorable. On December 13, 1705, the Council of that province gave it as its opinion that "his Excellency not being privy nor any ways concerned either in the Peace or carrying on the Warr against Canada nor having received any commands from her Majesty herein, they do not think it proper or convenient for his Excellency to engage in any treaty of Peace."[2] In other words, the unofficial arrangement which New York enjoyed was so satisfactory that there was no reason for committing the province to a written agreement.

About the middle of January, 1706, Dudley wrote a reply to Vaudreuil, the draught of which received the approval of the Council. This letter, which unfortunately has not come to light in modern times, was sent to Canada by John Sheldon of Deerfield.[3] Its contents can be pretty well inferred from a despatch sent by Vaudreuil to his government and from his reply to Dudley, dated June 2, 1706.[4] Dudley apparently wrote that he could not at present confer

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ii. 440–447, the other in New York Colonial Documents, ix. 770–772. They are carefully collated by the editor of the Province Laws (viii. 541–543).

[1] Province Laws, viii. 149, 543.

[2] New York Council Minutes, ix. 574. Cornbury's answer to Dudley has not been preserved. Mr. Goodell merely says (Province Laws viii. 543) that his assent was never given.

[3] Province Laws, viii. 613; Sheldon, i. 332.

[4] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 451, 452; Province Laws, viii. 614.

with the other governors about the question of neutrality and again made proposals for an exchange of prisoners. Vaudreuil, probably with reason, got the impression that Dudley was merely seeking to prolong the negotiations and terminated the truce abruptly by sending out parties to raid the New England frontier.

As an example of the difficulty, at times, of reconciling Dudley's words and acts, it may be noted that, in a letter of February 1, 1706, to the Board of Trade, Dudley makes the surprising statement that he has made no answer to Vaudreuil's offer of a truce, having no authority to do so.[1] Obviously this is not literally true, since we know that the Council approved the draught of a reply and that Vaudreuil received such a letter, dated, according to him, January 15, 1706.[2] The reader is left to determine whether Dudley here carried his secretiveness to the point of deliberately attempting to conceal from his own government how far he had committed himself, or whether he merely wished to convey the impression that he had not returned a formal and conclusive answer, which was a fact.

The fact that Dudley gave serious consideration to the proposal for a treaty of neutrality obviously has little bearing upon the question whether or not he proposed it. If he did, he was bound to treat it seriously. Even if Vaudreuil was the prime mover, it was to Dudley's interest to consider it, if only to prolong the existing truce and so give the frontier a longer respite from attack.

That Dudley had good reason for doubting whether the English government was favorable to the idea of neutrality in America is shown by its subsequent action. Upon receiving from Dudley copies of his proposal to Vaudreuil and of Vaudreuil's draught treaty, the government, through Secretary Hedges, sent orders to Dudley to proceed no further in the matter.[3] The French government,

[1] Calendar, 1706–8, no. 69.

[2] The date is given in Vaudreuil's letter to Dudley of June 2, 1706, in Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 452.

[3] Calendar, 1706–8, no. 456. Dudley enclosed copies of the proposals in two letters, first in a letter dated November 1, 1705 (id. 1704–5, no. 1423), and again in his letter of February 1, 1706 (id. 1706–8, no. 69). As Vetch did not reach Boston till November 21, 1705, the enclosures in the letter of November 1 must have been added later, probably a not unusual proceeding. Some light might be thrown upon the question under consideration if we had a copy of Dudley's draught. Unfortunately the editor of the Calendar did not see fit

on the other hand, though suspicious that the negotiations were really a cloak for illicit trade, approved in principle the policy of neutrality.[1] In this, as we shall see, it was consistent with the general policy adopted by it for America at the beginning of the war.

With the whole story of the negotiations before us, we are now in a position to consider the various interpretations hitherto placed upon them and to raise the question how far these are borne out by the evidence. Hitherto it has been assumed that the initiative was taken either by Dudley or by Vaudreuil. There is, however, a third possibility which merits consideration. The proposition to change the basis of negotiation from a mere exchange of prisoners to a treaty of neutrality may have been the work of Dudley's agent, Samuel Vetch. Let us consider these possibilities in turn.

The most eminent historians of the French wars, Parkman and Kingsford, have affirmed that Dudley proposed the treaty of neutrality.[2] Probably the main reason for this view is to be found in the concluding words of Dudley's letter of July 4, 1705, the one carried by Courtemanche and Vetch. They read:

> J'ai donné au sieur de Courtemanche une copie du traité fait entre la Martinique et les gouverneurs anglois des isles Leeward pour faire voir qu'il est conforme à celui que j'ai projeté pour nos gouvernements, ce qui sera également utile à vous et à moi et nous pourrons tous deux demeurer ainsi paisibles si nous voulons nonobstant la guerre.[3]

The question at once arises whether Dudley wrote in English or in French. If he wrote in English, the English original has never come to light, and we have only the French translation which may not accurately express Dudley's meaning.[4] The words "demeurer

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to summarize it and, so far as is known, no copy exists in this country. The fact that Dudley draws a clear distinction between what he proposed and the draught treaty which Vaudreuil sent back by Vetch goes to show, however, that there were essential differences between them. Other evidence of this will be adduced later.

[1] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 450, 470; New York Colonial Documents, ix. 779.

[2] Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, i. 103; Kingsford, History of Canada, ii. 428. E. B. Greene in his Provincial America, p. 148, is also of this opinion.

[3] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 438.

[4] While preparing this paper, I wrote to Ottawa to see whether the original of Dudley's letter was preserved there in the Canadian Archives. Replying to

paisibles" seem rather vague to use in suggesting a truce or treaty of neutrality. Furthermore, we are confronted by the fact that the West Indian cartel which Dudley says he is sending as a model of the kind of agreement he has in mind, was not a truce at all, but a permanent arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, man for man, as fast as they accumulated in the hands of the respective governments.[1] Moreover, Vaudreuil in his letter to Dudley of June 2, 1706, admits that the proposal sent to him by the latter dealt principally with the exchange of prisoners.[2] His words were: "Il est vrai, monsieur, que les propositions que vous m'avez envoyées ne regardoient principalement que l'échange des prisonniers."

The words which, taken literally, give so much trouble, might fairly, I believe, in the light of the context, be translated somewhat as follows: "Thus we may make a durable and friendly arrangement (i. e. for the exchange of prisoners), if we will, notwithstanding the war."

But if Dudley did not directly suggest a truce or treaty of neutrality in the documents which he sent to Vaudreuil, he may have done so through Vetch and his son William, who were his agents on this occasion. On several occasions Vaudreuil makes an explicit statement that such was the case. In his first report of the negotiations, written in October, 1705, when Vetch was in all probability still at Quebec, Vaudreuil wrote that the two New Englanders had inquired several times whether he had power to conclude a truce, and he adds in a later letter that when he assured them that he

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my letter, Mr. Francis J. Audet said that it was not, that they had only a copy of the transcript made in Paris and now in the Massachusetts Archives from which the Collection de Manuscrits was printed. Both Mr. Audet and Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy, Provincial Archivist of Quebec, to whom Mr. Audet referred my inquiry, gave it as their opinion that Dudley wrote in French, partly because French was the diplomatic language of the time, partly because they felt that had the letter in Paris been in English, the transcriber would merely have copied it as it was. Of course, the original may be lost and Vaudreuil may have sent only a translation to Paris. There is also the possibility that in translation the text of Dudley's letter may have been purposely altered, but I see no good reason for such a supposition.

[1] This cartel is calendared fully in Calendar, 1704–5, no. 860, i. A portion of it, as it appeared in the Boston News-Letter of April 9–16, 1705, is reprinted in Province Laws, viii. 482. See also An Historical Digest of the Provincial Press (Boston, 1911), pp. 173, 189.

[2] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 452; Province Laws, viii. 614.

had they made proposals to him.[1] Still more explicit is the statement in his letter of June 2, 1706, to Dudley:[2] "Monsieur votre fils et monsieur Vetche m'ayant fait des propositions de paix, j'ai cru inutile de répondre au sujet de l'échange." Even if Vaudreuil wished to convey a false impression to his government, he surely could not hope to mislead Dudley.

Had Dudley any reason for suggesting a truce, either temporary or permanent? Dudley's enemies believed that this whole transaction was merely a cover for trade with the French,[3] and the French government had its suspicions that such was the case.[4] As we shall see presently, Vetch did attempt to collect a debt from a Canadian merchant, but there is every reason to believe that the commercial transaction was merely incidental.

It has also been suggested that Dudley made his proposal in order to give the frontier a respite from attack, and that he had no intention of signing any treaty of neutrality, although he wished Vaudreuil to think so. That Dudley saw clearly that he was gaining such an advantage from the negotiations we know from his speech to the General Court on April 10, 1706.[5] Vaudreuil himself seems to have suspected this when he found in the winter of 1706 that Dudley had made him an inconclusive reply.[6]

On the other hand, Vaudreuil expressed the opinion as late as November, 1706, long after hostilities had been resumed, that Dudley would have signed the treaty, if it could have been revised so as not to make necessary the signature of the other English governors.[7] Likewise Vetch, in a petition to the Privy Council

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[1] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 450; Province Laws, viii. 544; New York Colonial Documents, ix. 775.

[2] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 452.

[3] 5 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vi. 37*.

[4] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 449, 451; New York Colonial Documents, xi. 779; Province Laws, viii. 512.

[5] Court Records, viii. 183.

[6] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 451; New York Colonial Documents, ix. 775. Modern writers have differed on this point. Kingsford (History of Canada, ii. 428) believes Dudley was sincere. J. T. Adams in his usual iconoclastic fashion affirms that neither was sincere (Revolutionary New England, p. 69). Charlevoix evidently got his views from the letters of Vaudreuil above cited. See his History of New France (ed. Shea), v. 176.

[7] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 461.

of February 20, 1707, says that the Governor and Council applauded the treaty.[1] The opinion of Hutchinson is also worth citing. "Dudley," he says, "depended upon the French being extirpated from Canada, as well as Acadie, otherwise he would have been glad of a neutrality, if he could have had the queen's leave to agree to it."[2]

It is at this point that Dudley's lack of frank and open dealing proves so unfortunate. The only reference to these negotiations ever made by Dudley, so far as is known, is to be found in his letter of February 1, 1706. In this he merely says that he has no need of a truce, since he could easily remove the French from Canada and Port Royal if the Queen would send him four ships of war and some mortars.[3] Inasmuch as this is the letter in which Dudley makes the equivocal statement that he has sent Vaudreuil no reply, one cannot be sure that it covers all the facts in the case or reveals the whole working of Dudley's mind.

The simplest explanation of the whole affair, one that has appealed to many writers, is that Dudley proposed an exchange of prisoners, but that Vaudreuil took the opportunity to suggest a permanent treaty of neutrality, making the terms so stiff that the French would gain much the greater advantage.[4] This is the cautiously expressed opinion of Dudley's biographer, Kimball, while Osgood, Sheldon, and Hutchinson, without definitely committing themselves, imply some such interpretation of the transaction.[5] The bare narrative of events would certainly suggest this interpretation. Dudley initiates negotiations for an exchange of prisoners. On this basis they continue until the return of Vetch from Canada in November, 1705, bringing a draught treaty of neutrality. Furthermore, the policy of neutrality was, as we shall see presently, far more in harmony with French policy than with English.

It may be noted also that in a ministerial abridgment of a letter written by Governor Ramezay of Montreal on October 12, 1705, it is stated that "Monsieur de Vaudreuil veut proposer une neutralité

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[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, vi. 53.

[2] History, ii. 165.

[3] Calendar, 1706–8, no. 69.

[4] Vaudreuil himself points out this fact (Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 450).

[5] Kimball, pp. 104, 115; Osgood, American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, i. 418; Sheldon, i. 330; Hutchinson, ii. 153. J. T. Adams is the only writer to question Vaudreuil's sincerity. See p. 222 note 6, above.

avec la Nouvelle Angleterre," [1] but this cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that Vaudreuil originated the proposal.

The difficulty in accepting such a view arises chiefly from Vaudreuil's statements, cited above, attributing the proposal of a treaty of neutrality to Vetch and young Dudley, acting, as he supposed, for the Governor. Vaudreuil's use of the word "truce" to describe the proposals made to him may afford a clue to what happened.[2] It is barely possible that Dudley may have suggested, through Vetch, the conclusion of a temporary truce or cessation of hostilities, to facilitate the arrangement of the details of the cartel, and that Vaudreuil may have sought to make this the basis of a proposal for a permanent treaty of neutrality.

There remains the third possibility, namely that Samuel Vetch may have taken it upon himself to make overtures for a treaty of neutrality. Vetch was a bold and adventurous character, whose activities from the time when he landed in New York in 1699, after the failure of the Scotch Darien expedition, until he became Governor of Nova Scotia in 1710, have never been fully explored.[3] His connection with the Livingston and Winthrop families gave him social position and political influence. He evidently stood high in the estimation of Dudley, for the latter, in a letter to Vaudreuil introducing his son William, refers to him as his particular friend.[4]

Dudley's choice of Vetch to carry Courtemanche back to Quebec throws some light on his methods and is pertinent to our inquiry. In the year 1701, Vetch had made a trading voyage from New York to Quebec, in disregard apparently of the laws both of New York and New France, during which trip a certain Canadian merchant became indebted to him to the amount of £800. When it

[1] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 448.

[2] Again we have only the abridgment of a letter, in this case that of Vaudreuil written October 19, 1705. The abridgment reads that Dudley "propose par la lettre qu'il écrit à Monsieur de Vaudreuil une espèce de trève entre les deux gouvernements" (id. ii. 449).

[3] There is no really good account of this part of Vetch's life. Parkman has summarized the information contained in the only two attempts known to the writer to sketch his career in his Half-Century of Conflict (i. 133 ff). Vetch married a daughter of Robert Livingston, and was, therefore, a brother-in-law of John Livingston and through him a connection of the Winthrop family. Hence the statement which follows in the text.

[4] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 439; Province Laws, viii. 514.

seemed advisable, therefore, to send Courtemanche back to Quebec by sea, Vetch offered to carry him without compensation, if he might collect this debt. As he was familiar with the navigation of the St. Lawrence and could speak French, the Governor and Council accepted his offer.[1]

In his petition, from which most of the above facts are gleaned, Vetch draws a clear distinction between Dudley's purpose in sending him, which was to arrange for the exchange of prisoners, and the result of his mission, the treaty of neutrality, and he at least implies that the credit for getting Vaudreuil to commit himself to such a proposal belongs to him. Such a view is further reconcilable with Vaudreuil's repeated statements of the activity of Vetch in bringing up the question of a truce, although Vaudreuil thought, or chose to think, that he was acting under instructions from Dudley.

Of course, Vetch's statements cannot be accepted without corroboration, since they are made in a petition to clear himself from the serious charge of trading with the enemy.[2] They are, however, partially corroborated by statements made in a letter of Governor Ramezay of Montreal, written at the time of Vetch's visit to Quebec.[3] Moreover, the adventurous character of Vetch, and the fact that he later undertook successfully the task of persuading the English government to attempt the conquest of Canada makes such an interpretation not inherently improbable.

Such are the three possible interpretations of the events in question. Before an attempt is made to reach a conclusion, it is necessary to examine the relation of the negotiations of 1704–1706 to the earlier policy of Dudley and Vaudreuil. Such an examination reveals the fact that Dudley had already rejected an opportunity to conclude a treaty of neutrality with the Governor of Acadia, and that the French had all along favored a policy of neutrality in America.

When Dudley arrived in Boston as Governor in June, 1702, he

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[1] This information rests chiefly on Vetch's petition of February 20, 1707, to the Privy Council (Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, vi. 52 ff). See also Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 448, 451; Shea's Charlevoix, v. 217 note 1; Osgood, American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, i. 420 note 2 and citations.

[2] This charge was based upon a voyage made by Vetch to Acadia in 1706, not upon his 1705 voyage. See Hutchinson, ii. 154 ff.

[3] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 448; Province Laws, viii. 545.

found before the Council, which, since the death of Stoughton, had been conducting the government, a proposition for the maintenance of neutrality between Massachusetts and Acadia. To this the Council had returned a cautious but not unfavorable reply, pointing out that they could not come to a definite decision because they were expecting the arrival of a new governor with instructions from the Queen.[1] Dudley apparently gave this proposal no consideration, had the Council proclaim war as soon as news of the declaration reached him, began to commission privateers to prey on French commerce, and was soon suggesting to the home government an attack upon Port Royal, and eventually the conquest of Canada itself.[2] There is no evidence that, down to 1705 at least, Dudley ever considered the idea of neutrality, but there was present from the first the idea of utilizing the exchange of prisoners, which the course of events had made practically a necessity, to gain information which would facilitate the conquest of Quebec. Throughout the year 1705, Dudley continued to urge upon his government an expedition against that stronghold,[3] and nothing that happened during that year will account for a secret change of view on his part. In fact, the truce which tacitly existed had greatly eased the military situation, relieved the frontier, and lessened the burden of defence. Not until the summer of 1706, when the English government had been deaf for two years to his urgings, do we find in his correspondence a hint that neutrality was desirable. At that time he simply made the almost obvious remark that, if the government had no intention of sending a fleet to take Port Royal and Quebec, it would have been better if he had accepted the proposed treaty of neutrality.[4] Thus Hutchinson summarized his position exactly when he made the statement above quoted.[5]

The French, on the other hand, had seen the advantage of neutralizing their American colonies ever since war appeared imminent. Realizing the strength of the opposition he must face, Louis XIV, as early as 1700, had instructed Brouillan, the new Governor of

[1] Calendar, 1701, nos. 785, ii, iii; Documentary History of the State of Maine, x. 96, 103.

[2] Calendar, 1702, nos. 593, 679, 728, 780, 966.

[3] See p. 216, above; also Calendar, 1704–1705, nos. 679, 680, 1274, 1423.

[4] Calendar, 1706–1708, no. 526.

[5] See p. 223, above.

Acadia, that, unless he could protect his colony from the English, it would be better to make with them a treaty of neutrality.[1] A year later the King instructed the Governor of Canada to keep peace with the Iroquois, which meant, as the Governor pointed out, the inclusion of New York in the arrangement, for on no other terms would the Iroquois remain quiet.[2] From other sources, too, we know that a policy of neutrality was generally favored by the French,[3] and we know also that it was successfully put into operation in the case of New York and the Iroquois.

It is true that Vaudreuil was responsible for stirring up the Abnaki to attack the New England frontier, but this was because he believed that only in this way could the French maintain their influence over these fickle allies.[4] The wisdom of this policy was questioned at the time by the minister in charge of colonial affairs,[5] and it is evident from the tone of Vaudreuil's correspondence with his government during the years 1705 and 1706 that he now favored neutrality, at least on the terms proposed by him to Dudley.[6] Ramezay, the Governor of Montreal, also favored the proposal,[7] as did the French government, provided its honor and interests were properly safeguarded.[8] In view of the military situation in Europe, the overwhelming naval superiority of the English, and the potential strength of the English colonies, such an attitude is not surprising.

We may now attempt to draw some conclusions concerning English and French policy at this time, and Dudley's relation thereto. In the first place, it is clear that at least down to the time of these negotiations Dudley had not favored a policy of neutrality, that on the contrary he had in 1702 rejected an opportunity to make some sort of arrangement with Acadia, that he had consistently urged upon the English government the conquest of Canada and Acadia, and that there is no change in the tone of his correspondence with the English government during the course of the negotiations with

[1] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 333–334.
[2] New York Colonial Documents, ix. 721, 739.
[3] Id. ix. 728; Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 394.
[4] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 405, 406.
[5] New York Colonial Documents, ix. 748, 755.
[6] Collection de Manuscrits, ii. 450, 461.
[7] Id. ii. 448.
[8] Id. ii. 470, 474; New York Colonial Documents, ix. 779.

Vaudreuil, nor can any good reason for a change of policy on his part at this time be discovered.

On the other hand, in obedience to instructions from France, the Governor of Acadia had attempted in 1701 to make a treaty of neutrality with the government of Massachusetts, and in the same year, Vaudreuil's predecessor at Quebec had concluded an agreement with the Iroquois, which meant perforce abstaining from attacks upon New York. Although Vaudreuil had, for what seemed to him good reasons, at first adopted the policy of raiding the New England frontier, he evidently realized by 1705 that the ill success of French arms in Europe, the naval superiority of the English, and the just indignation of New England at his frontier raids, exposed him to the danger of a joint attack by English and colonial forces. From a military viewpoint, he had everything to gain and little or nothing to lose by proposing a treaty of neutrality, and neither by word nor act did he show the least sign of hostility to such an idea.

Finally, the known facts concerning the negotiations of Vaudreuil with Vetch and William Dudley in the summer of 1705, from which indubitably issued the draught treaty of neutrality, are so few, and the statements made by the different parties concerned are so contradictory, that any definite answer to the question who first proposed the treaty is impossible. All that can be said with confidence is that the statements of Parkman and Kingsford attributing the proposal to Dudley do not fit in with what we know of his policy at this time, and are hard to reconcile with the fact that, until Vetch returned from Quebec fifteen months after Dudley had begun negotiations for an exchange of prisoners, we hear nothing of a treaty of neutrality.

Either one of two explanations will fit the facts as known to us. Dudley may have suggested the conclusion of a temporary truce while the treaty for the exchange of prisoners, which had hung fire for so long, was being completed, and Vaudreuil may have seized the opportunity to try to secure a general treaty of neutrality. A temporary truce would have the advantage of giving the frontiers a further respite, while the English government was being converted to Dudley's plan for an invasion of Canada. Or, Vetch, who was familiar with the situation on the New York frontier where a condition of neutrality prevailed, may have learned from conversation

with the French that they favored a general arrangement, and may have taken it upon himself to suggest the change in the basis of negotiation, which actually did occur. His motive for so doing can only be conjectured. It might, from what we know of his character, have been anything, from a desire to make it easier to trade with the French, to a deep-laid scheme for keeping the French quiet until such time as Dudley could persuade the English government to undertake the conquest of Canada.

To conclude with a final observation upon Dudley, — it would seem that at the time of these negotiations he was the one person in all the northern colonies least interested in concluding a treaty of neutrality, that he felt able to defend himself against French attacks, and that his real policy was to get sufficient aid from England to enable him to destroy the French power both in Canada and Acadia.

Mr. Kenneth B. Murdock then read the following paper, written by Mr. J. Leslie Hotson of Harvard University:

NEW LIGHT ON JOHN HARVARD

Harvard men know what a masterly work[1] on the life and parentage of John Harvard was done by Henry FitzGilbert Waters '55:[2] work in which untiring research, sharpened by the keenest inductive reasoning, produced a clear account where all before had been darkness. It is peculiarly gratifying, then, to be able to cast a further light upon John Harvard at a point in his career where Waters, his discoverer, would have been the first to welcome it.

John Harvard's last days in England, in the spring of 1637, are still a bit mysterious. We know that he arrived in Charlestown, Massachusetts, at least before August 1, 1637, on which date he was

[1] "John Harvard and his Ancestry," in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1885, and October, 1886, xxxix. 265–284, xl. 362–380; Genealogical Gleanings in England (1901); "John Harvard's English Home and Parentage," in Harvard Graduates' Magazine, June, 1907, xv. 543–560. Some interesting illustrations and facsimiles relating to John Harvard will be found in the Publications of this Society, xi. 366–382.

[2] "The Discoverer of John Harvard," by Edwin H. Abbot and William R. Thayer, in Harvard Graduates' Magazine, December, 1913, xxii. 234–240.

received by the New England townsmen. But when precisely did he finish winding up his affairs and take his departure from England? No one knows. Waters, however, on the following grounds hazards a shrewd guess.

The will of John Harvard's younger brother Thomas was discovered by Waters at Somerset House. By its terms John Harvard, besides being made one of the principal legatees, is named joint executor: "And I doe ordaine and make my said welbeloved brother John Harvard And the said Nichollas Morton preacher executors of this my said last will and Testament." When the will was presented for probate on May 5, 1637, a memorandum was made on it which seemed to indicate that John Harvard was not at hand to perform his duties as executor. Mr. Waters remarks:

> It will be noticed . . . that this will was presented for probate 5 May, 1637, by Mr. Morton alone, and power granted only to him, a similar power being reserved for John Harvard, the other executor, *when he should come to seek it* [*cum venerit eam petiturus*]. This seemed to show plainly enough the absence of John Harvard, the brother of Thomas, on that fifth of May, 1637.[1]

Naturally believing that he had found a date beyond the farthest limit of Harvard's stay in the Old World, Mr. Waters now cast back in search of a latest possible trace of his actual presence in London. Here he shows the acumen of the true antiquary. I can do no better than to reproduce his own words:

> Knowing that he [*i. e.* John Harvard] must have been the owner of landed property, and believing that before leaving for America (in the spring of 1637) he would be selling some of his property, I surmised that some record of such sale would appear in some of the documents preserved in the Public Record Office.[2]

Directing his search with the greatest skill, Waters at length found what he wanted among the Feet of Fines of the Hilary Term, 12 Charles I, County Surrey. The document, stripped of some of its verbiage, reads in part:

> Hec est finalis concordia *facta* in cur*ia* Dom*in*i Regis apud West-m*onasterium* . . [date] . . coram Joh*anne* ffinch Ric*ardo* Hutton

[1] Waters, Genealogical Gleanings, i. 126–129.

[2] Genealogical Gleanings, i. 132.

Georgio Vernon et ffrancisco Crawley justic*iariis* . . . Inter Joh*ann*em Man et Johannam uxor*em* eius quer*entes*, et Johannem Harvard et Annam uxor*em* defor*cientes* de uno mesuagio et tribus Cotagijs cum p*ertinentiis* in Parochia S*ancti* Olavi in Southwarke.

The exact date, as Waters found, was February 16, 1637. He continues:

Here we find John Harvard appearing in February, 1636–7, as a grantor of real estate in St. Olave (where his brother Thomas was living) and with wife Ann; surely most important evidence that he was the John Harvard who six months afterwards was in New England with a wife Ann; and the above date of transfer and the date of probate of his brother Thomas Harvard's will undoubtedly furnish the limits of the period of time within which John Harvard left old England to take up his abode in our New England. He must have set sail some time between 16 February and 5 May, 1637.

The conclusion imposed itself. Waters could come to no other with the evidence before him, and this part of Harvard's biography has stood as Waters left it. But there was another document, which has remained hidden until the present moment. It was my fortune, while deep among the limitless chronicles of things past which are preserved in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, to hit upon a roll of Recognizances of Debt for the year 1637. This roll belongs to a series which was formerly kept in the Tower of London. Later transferred to the office of the Lord Chamberlain, it was thence finally, in 1858, brought to the Public Record Office.

The series to which it belongs is styled *F*, from the name of the justice before whom the recognizances were taken: Sir John Finch, of ship-money infamy, and the same whom we have just encountered in connection with the transfer of property from John Harvard to John Man. In conformity with the law the entries are made in Latin. They number nearly two hundred in the roll, and rubric 55 reads as follows:

55 M*emorandum* quod Vicesimo sexto die Maij Ann*o* p*raedicto* ffranc*iscus* Norton Civis et Hab*erdasher* Londoni*arum* coram Joh*anne* ffinch mil*ite et cetera* recogn*ovit* se debere Joh*anni* Harvard de p*arochia* s*ancti* Olavi in Southwark in com*itatu* Surr' cl*erico* Trecentas libras sol*vendas* in ffesto Pentecost*is* p*roximo* Et si *et cetera*.[1]

[1] Public Record Office, L. C. 4/66

We may English it roughly:

55 Be it remembered that on the six and twentieth day of May in the year aforesaid, Francis Norton, Citizen and Haberdasher of London, in the presence of Sir John Finch, Knight, etc., acknowledged that he owed to John Harvard, of the parish of St. Olave's in Southwark, county Surrey, Clerk, Three Hundred Pounds, to be paid at Whitsuntide next following. And if, etc.

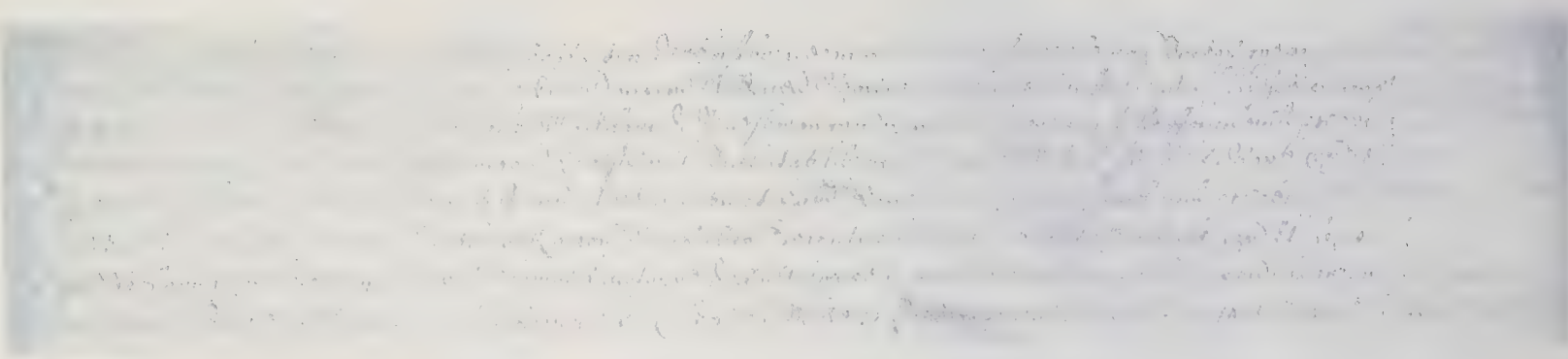
This document is of the highest interest from more than one point of view. In the first place, it shows that John Harvard was still in England on May 26, three weeks after the May 5 when, as we have always thought, he was on his way to Massachusetts, or indeed had already arrived there. In the second place, the debt fell due almost immediately after the recognizance was taken. The money was to be paid on Whitsuntide, which in 1637 fell on May 28 — two days after the date of our document. Such a period, much shorter than the average time mentioned in the surrounding entries, seems to point to Harvard's winding up his affairs with despatch before departing. On this evidence, then, he could not have sailed before May 29, 1637; and inasmuch as he was in Charlestown on August 1, his passage must have been swift, and his New England welcome prompt.

The sum of money involved is large — representing at least $15,000 at the present — and is nearly as much as the bequest of half his estate (excluding the library) which Harvard willed to the new college at Cambridge.

Who is this Francis Norton, Citizen and Haberdasher of London, who gave his bond to Harvard for such a large amount? New Englanders who are familiar with the early times know him very well, but under the name of Captain Francis Norton of Charlestown. Let me quote a paragraph concerning a will from Waters's indispensable book:

Robert Houghton, of the parish of St. Olave's, Southworth [Southwark], in the county of Surrey, brewer, 25 December 1653, proved at Westminster 7 January 1653–4.

Item I will and bequeath unto my dearely loveinge and pious sister Mary Norton wife of ffrancis Norton of Charles towne in New England the some of twenty poundes to be paied to her within two yeares after my decease.



remembered that on [illegible]
aforesaid, Francis Norton, [illegible]
[illegible] of Sir John Finch, Knt.
[illegible] John Harvard, of the parish of [illegible]
[illegible], Clerk, Three Hundred Pounds, [illegible]
following. And if, etc.

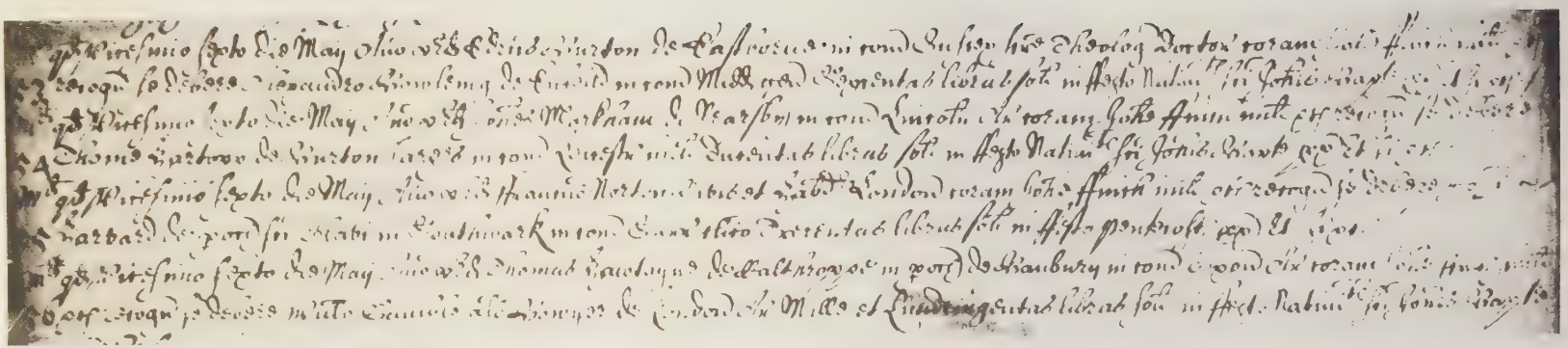
This document is of the highest interest [illegible]
of view. In the first place, it shows that [illegible]
in England on May 26, three weeks after the May 5 when [illegible]
have always thought he was on his way to Massachusetts, or indeed had already [illegible] there. In the second place, the debt fell due [illegible] on which the recognizance was taken. The month [illegible] which in 1637 fell on May 28 [illegible] period, much [illegible]
his passage must have been swift and [illegible] prompt.

The sum of money [illegible] £15,000 at the [illegible] such as the [illegible] of half his estate (excluding the library) which Harvard [illegible] the new college at Cambridge.

Who is this Francis Norton, Citizen and Haberdasher of London, [illegible] he gave his bond to Harvard for such a large amount? New [illegible] readers who are familiar with the early times know him very well [illegible] under the name of Captain Francis Norton of Charlestown. [illegible] note a paragraph concerning a will from Waters's index [illegible]

[illegible] Norton, of the parish of St. Olave's, Southworth [illegible] of Surrey, brewer, 25 December 1655 [illegible] 1655[-6].

[illegible] unto my dearely loveinge [illegible] Norton of Charlestowne in New [illegible] pounds to be paid to her within two [illegible]



Recognizance for Debt, 1637, mentioning John Harvard

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the Public Record Office, London

Here Waters subjoins the Houghton family tree, in which two of the children of Nicholas Houghton of London, Fishmonger, are "Mary wife of Fran: Norton of London, Fishmonger," and "Robert Houghton of London, Brewer." Then Waters continues:

A pedigree of the same family [the Houghtons] may be found in the Visitation of London, published by the Harleian Society (XV. 369). In the latter Francis Norton is called a haberdasher, which is more probably correct, if we may judge from the character of his inventory as shown in the Middlesex Records, he being the well-known Capt. Francis Norton, who was admitted into the church of Charlestown, Mass., 10–2–1642, and died in Charlestown, 27 July, 1667. He left no male issue, but has probably many descendants in New England through his daughters, of whom Abigail was the wife of John Long, Mary of Joseph Noyes, Deborah of Zechary Hill, and Elizabeth of Timothy Symmes and Ephraim Savage. In social, political and military relations Capt. Norton seems to have stood high.[1]

It may be of interest to add that this same Recognizance Roll of 1637 contains an entry of November 29 stating that Francis Norton's brother-in-law, Robert Houghton, owed James Baldwin, Gentleman, of Worlington, Suffolk, six hundred pounds;[2] and another entry, of October 13, which tells us that Richard Yerwood, John Harvard's step-brother, owed two hundred and twenty pounds to Richard Britten, Feltmaker, of St. Olave's, Southwark.[3]

So much for the acquaintanceship, hitherto unsuspected, between Francis Norton, Haberdasher, and John Harvard, Clerk. The two men knew each other in London before Harvard took ship for America; but it was not until John Harvard had been four years in his grave in Charlestown, that Norton came to live in the village. For us, however, the capital point of the matter is that this new evidence on the life of John Harvard fixes the date of his departure for America at the end of May or during June, 1637.

[1] Genealogical Gleanings, i. 257.

[2] 167 *Memorandum quod* Vicesimo Nono die Novembris Anno *praedicto* Robertus Houghton Civis et Pandoxator Londoni*arum* . . . recogno*vit* se debere Jacobo Baldwin de Worlington in com*itatu* Suff*olkie* gene*roso* Sexcentas libras sol*vendas* in ffesto Natalis Do*mini* pro*ximo*.

[3] 117 *Memorandum quod* Decimo tertio die Octobris Anno *praedicto* Ricardus Yerwood de parochia *sancti* Olavi in Southwark in com*itatu* Surr' Ar*miger* . . recogno*vit* se debere Ri*cardo* Britten de ead*em* ffeltmaker Ducentas et Viginti libras sol*vendas* in ffesto Omni*um* *sanctorum* pro*ximo*.

Mr. JOHN NOBLE exhibited a log-book, kept by Levi Mills of Newburyport in 1783–1785. The book is inscribed "Levi Mills[1] his Book Bought in Plymouth In Old England, While a Prisoner, March 22, 1782." Speaking of the book Mr. Noble said, in part:

It contains manuscript journals at sea and in harbor. There is a table of them entitled "Alphibet" on the first page.

It is kept according to the method approved by Bowditch, being divided into vertical columns representing in order, from left to right, the hour from meridian to meridian, knots, half-knots, courses, winds, and remarks. At the bottom of each day's record are shown the distance covered and the ship's position in latitude and longitude by dead-reckoning and observation.

The first journal records a voyage in the Brigantine Hope, Nathaniel Nowell, Commander,[2] from Cape Francies (Cape François on the Island of Haiti) to Newburyport, April 10 to 27, 1783.

The second voyage was in the "good ship Diana," Sylvanus Lowell,[3] Master, from Newburyport to Richmond. This was a winter voyage, and the account of it is interesting as showing the difficulties of navigating the James River against currents, shoals and ice. The record of this voyage is followed by a harbor journal, principally devoted to the loading of a cargo of tobacco which was taken on from small boats. Mills, who seems to have been first mate, went ashore and made a trip to Petersburg on horseback. After six weeks at Richmond, the ship went on up the river to City Point, having much difficulty with shoals and sand bars.

The third journal gives an account of a voyage to London. This is followed by a harbor journal at London describing the discharge of the cargo, the routine work of repairing, and the taking in of ballast. Departure from London was delayed several days by heavy

[1] Probably Levi Mills, born in Newburyport, 1758, married to Lucy Palmer (Plummer?) in Watertown in 1790, and father of Lydia Plummer and Mary Plummer Mills, born in 1796 and 1791 respectively. He died November 24, 1817. See Newburyport Vital Records, i. 263, ii. 315, 718, and T. B. Wyman, Charlestown Genealogies, ii. 675.

[2] For Captain Nathaniel Nowell, see W. H. Bayley and O. O. Jones, History of the Marine Society of Newburyport, p. 324.

[3] Captain Sylvanus Lowell (1746–1830). See D. R. Lowell, Historic Genealogy of the Lowells of America, p. 328.

winds, but the ship sailed finally on June 28, 1784, with three passengers on board.

This voyage was to Lisbon, where a cargo of salt and wine was taken on. There one Johnson "ran away with the small boat," but the officers "sent and brought him back."

From Lisbon, the Diana sailed back to Newburyport. On August 27, Cape Ann Lights were picked up, and on August 28 the ship anchored at Long Wharf, Boston.

Here was received a new cargo of salt which was carried to Baltimore. From Baltimore, the Diana went to Cadiz with a cargo of flour, and returned to Boston with a cargo of salt. There is in the journal of this voyage a description of a heavy gale which did considerable damage to the sails and rigging. This storm lasted from March 26 to April 1, and was followed by more bad weather, the course from Cadiz to Monhegan taking forty-six days.

The last record in the book is a harbor journal at Boston. May 25, 1785, is described as being "election amongst boston gentry." On June 6, "it being election day, the Governor took his chair on the Common."

Mr. Kenneth B. Murdock read the following note on

JEREMIAH WISE'S SERMON ON THE SUITABLENESS AND BENEFIT OF PRAYER IN AFFLICTION, 1717

In Sibley's bibliography of Increase Mather, he listed a preface described as "To the Reader. Boston. July 6. 1717. 12mo. pp. (5). Prefixed to J. Wise's Prayer in Affliction," and indicated that a copy of the preface was in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] The work he referred to is still in the possession of the Society, being one of a collection of several prefaces by Increase Mather, removed from the books in which they were printed, and preserved by themselves. It bears a manuscript endorsement in Cotton Mather's hand, identifying it as having been taken from Jeremiah Wise's "Prayer in Affliction."[2]

[1] J. L. Sibley, Biographical Sketches, i. 464, no. 131.

[2] Jeremiah Wise was the elder son of the famous John Wise (1652–1725), and graduated from Harvard College in 1700. In 1707 he became minister at Berwick. He died in 1756.

No copy of the complete volume in which the preface appeared is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society or, so far as I have been able to ascertain, by any library in or near Boston. It seems that Sibley, therefore, knew nothing of the book except the preface, and probably for this reason he does not mention "Prayer in Affliction" in his manuscript memoranda on Jeremiah Wise.[1] Other American bibliographers are similarly reticent, and Wise's book does not appear to be listed by any one of them.

Through the kindness of Mr. Worthington C. Ford I have been informed that a copy of the book is in the Library of Congress. The title is:

A | SERMON | Shewing the Suitableness, and | the Benefit of | PRAYER | IN | Affliction. | ——— | By *Jeremiah Wise*, A. M. Pastor | of the Church in *Berwick*. | ——— | [6 ll. of texts] | ——— | *Boston*, Printed by *John Allen*, | for *Nicholas Boone*, at the Sign | of the Bible in *Cornhill*, 1717. | [pp. (5) 40. 12mo.]

It is perhaps worth while, in view of the apparent rarity of the book, to record its existence, as an addition to the printed bibliographies of early American publications. It is not without interest from another point of view also, inasmuch as it is often said that by 1717 Increase Mather was cherishing an implacable hatred against John Wise, because of their differences in respect to matters of church polity. If Wise and Mather were so much at odds as they are said to have been, it is worthy of notice that the latter was generous enough to contribute a preface to a book written by the son of his enemy.[2]

[1] These memoranda are in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] Cf. K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather (1925), p. 395.

APRIL MEETING, 1925

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held, at the invitation of the President, at the house of the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 50 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, April 30, 1925, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death on the tenth and the fifteenth of April respectively, of Arthur Lord, a Resident Member, and John Singer Sargent, an Honorary Member.

The President appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. Francis Russell Hart, William Vail Kellen, and James Parker Parmenter.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. Frank Brewer Bemis and Harold Murdock.

The President announced the receipt of a gift of two thousand dollars from Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay, in memory of her husband.

Mr. George L. Kittredge offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts desire to express their gratitude to Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay for her generous gift of $2000 towards the cost of publishing the Records of Harvard College — a project in which their late associate,

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, felt a lively interest and to which he made liberal contribution.

Resolved, That the Records, when issued, bear upon the title-page an appropriate inscription to the effect that they are published by the Society as a memorial to Mr. Gay.

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society and that a copy be sent to Mrs. Gay.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper written by Miss Viola F. Barnes, of Mount Holyoke College, on

RICHARD WHARTON, A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND COLONIAL

Among colonial Englishmen of the seventeenth century there is no more striking figure than Richard Wharton, a non-freeman in Puritan Boston, a man whose vivid personality, varied interests, and forceful leadership entitle him to be rescued from the oblivion into which he has been allowed to sink. He was by nature masterful, vigorous, energetic, persevering, and ambitious. His enemies believed him unscrupulous, headstrong, and selfish. He was undoubtedly tactless and precipitous, and as a consequence always antagonized those who disagreed with him. These were many, because his numerous activities as merchant, attorney-at-law, promoter, landed proprietor, and political leader brought him into contact with a large number of people.

Wharton was not among those whom religious and political dissatisfaction drove out of England. He sought the new world because it appealed to his imagination as a place where a man could acquire riches through commerce and easy possession of the soil, and at the same time retain allegiance to his king. He did not think of himself as emigrating from England; he simply followed the "westward ho!" impulse, as many an American was to do in the next two centuries.

Why he chose to settle in Boston is difficult to tell, but it was probably because that town offered the best commercial advantages to be found at the time in any of the English continental colonies. In all the large coast towns were many merchants of distinction who were amassing fortunes from the trade built up during the Puritan

Revolution. Wharton's marriage in 1659 to Bethia Tyng,[1] the daughter of William Tyng,[2] a wealthy merchant, drew him at once into close association with this group. Bethia's sister Elizabeth was the wife of another prominent merchant, Thomas Brattle, reputed to be the wealthiest man in New England.[3] Among her many cousins were Jonathan Tyng, who married a daughter of another great merchant, Hezekiah Usher;[4] Edward Tyng, who through his wife's inheritance of an estate in Maine became interested in land speculation there in coöperation with Wharton;[5] and Rebecca, who married Joseph Dudley, later president of the provisional government and member of Andros's council.[6] After the death of Bethia, Wharton married, in 1672, Sarah Higginson,[7] daughter of a Puritan divine at Salem and sister of an East India merchant. She died in 1672 and Wharton then married Martha Winthrop,[8] sister of Wait and Fitz-John Winthrop, grandsons of the first Governor Winthrop and sons of the governor of Connecticut. These marriages into prominent New England families added to Wharton's social distinc-

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[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 466–467 note; S. Sewall, Diary, i. 255 and note; J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 494 (henceforth cited as Savage); New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 38–39 (henceforth cited as Register); Memorial History of Boston, i. 581. By Bethia Tyng he had three sons: William, born in 1663; Richard, born in 1664; and Humphrey, born in 1666. Boston Records, ix. 89, 94, 101.

[2] William Tyng arrived from England in 1638. An inventory of his estate taken in 1653 placed its value at £2774–14–94. Savage, iv. 356–358; Register, viii. 62.

[3] Savage, iv. 356–358; Register, iii. 38–39. I doubt if he deserved this reputation. At the time of his death in 1683 his estate was valued at nearly £8000, but in the tax list of 1674 there were a few whose taxes were much higher than his. Boston Records, i. 22.

[4] Savage, iv. 357; Register, xi. 284.

[5] Savage, iv. 357.

[6] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 466–467 note; Register, i. 71, ix. 172.

[7] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 466–467 note; Sewall, Diary, i. 255 and note; Register, vi. 342. By Sarah he had four daughters: Sarah, born in 1671; Bethia, born in 1672; Frances, born in 1673; and Catherine, born in 1674. Boston Records, ix. 120, 125, 130, 134. One of Wharton's children died in 1677, but which one I do not know. Sewall, Diary, i. 12.

[8] Savage, iv. 612, 613; 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 466–467 note. By Martha Winthrop he had three daughters: Ann, born in 1679; Martha, born in 1682; and Dorothy, born in 1686; and one son, John, born in 1684. Boston Records, ix. 150, 159, 164, 172; Memorial History of Boston, i. 574.

tion — for he was well-connected in England[1] — and gave him opportunities for success in business. He became a great merchant, and very soon extensive wharfs, which he was constantly enlarging, testified to the growth of his commercial interests.[2]

That Wharton was also an able attorney-at-law is indicated by his successful handling of some of the most conspicuous cases of his time. One affair which attracted attention because of the prominence of the people concerned was that of Samuel Bellingham, who after the death of his father, Governor Richard Bellingham, employed Wharton as his counsel in contesting the will. During this case, Wharton incurred the displeasure of the General Court and received as penalty, withdrawal of his licence to plead in the courts. Out of fairness to Bellingham, however, Wharton was allowed to finish this one case, and finally won for his client a favorable decision.[3]

Another case which Wharton successfully managed, stirred New England to great excitement and permanently affected his reputation. He was attorney for the famous Bernard Lamoyn,[4] a French privateer whose ships, two rich prizes captured from the Dutch off the coast of Cuba, were stranded on Nantucket Island in 1678. The Englishmen in subordinate command of one of them, the Griffin, took advantage of the boats' distress to dispose of "much gold, pearls, silver plate and other things to great valew contrary to his knowledg & their articles of agrement at their commission port." Lamoyn sought justice of the government of Massachusetts, asking that his case be heard in an admiralty court. The Englishmen had sold the goods to prominent merchants in Rhode Island and in Boston, so that, as Fitz-John Winthrop wrote Governor Andros of

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[1] Wharton used a seal bearing the arms of the Whartons of Yorkshire, a branch of which family was ennobled, but he was not, as the editor of the Connecticut Colonial Records thought, a son of Philip, Lord Wharton, whose only son was Thomas (1648–1715). Connecticut Colonial Records, iii. 306 note; Sewall, Diary, i. 255 and note; Register, xxxi. 66, xl. 170; Encyclopædia Britannica.

[2] Boston Records, vii. 74, 93, 117; Suffolk Deeds, xiii. 53, 65, 123; Register, lxi. 313, xxxvii. 270; 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 466–467 note; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1675–1676, § 816 (henceforth cited as Calendar); New York Colonial Documents, ii. 662.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 538, v. 6, 13, 24–25, 36, 56, 98, 102, 105–106, 153, 235, 397, 432; Register, xii. 53; Savage, iv. 494.

[4] Calendar, 1675–1676, § 1018; 1677–1680, §§ 503, 581.

New York, "severall interests are engaged in ye case on both sides, wch makes much discoarse of what may be ye issue." The case was tried before the court of assistants, where Wharton apparently conducted his client's cause with vigor, for Dudley wrote to Fitz-John Winthrop, "Mr. Wharton is hurrying the poor English privateers to jayle & Misery." He won the case, the court deciding that the vessel must go to its commission port, Petit Guanare, and that the proceeds of any goods already sold from the vessel should be deposited with Lamoyn's lawyers. It was this case which brought Wharton the reputation of being, as Randolph said of him, "a great undertaker for pirates." [1]

All these commercial and legal activities would have kept most men busy enough, but Wharton apparently had a mind always teeming with new ideas which stimulated him to undertake all sorts of enterprises. One of his first great ventures was a scheme for making salt out of sea water. That product was a most important necessity in New England trade because in addition to ordinary domestic uses it was needed as a preservative in the fishing industry. A part of the salt came from Spain and the Straits, and a part came from the island of Tortuga,[2] where it was produced by a well-known process. Salt beds were made by selecting a low spot on the shore where shallow pools were formed by high tides. In time the sun evaporated the water, leaving a deposit of the salt. This salt, although of low grade and not usable with "merchantable" fish, was indispensable, particularly for "refuse" fish, which found ready market in the West India trade. When storms destroyed the salt beds or pirates captured the salt-bearing vessels, the New Englanders suffered great inconvenience. Wharton believed, as many New Englanders had before him,[3] that salt could be evaporated by the same process along

[1] Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 129; 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 458, 460; Connecticut Colonial Records, iii. 296; New York Colonial Documents, iii. 582; Calendar, 1677–1680, § 1360-1.

[2] The word Tortuga occurs in colonial records in many different forms. Sewall uses Taboodas, Tartooda and Tarbooda; Turtooda appears in the laws of Massachusetts, while the French Protestant Refugee (p. 4) speaks of the island of Tortilla. Sewall, Diary, i. 124, 423, 495; Colonial Laws of Massachusetts (1887), p. 54.

[3] In 1637 a tailor named Fitt was empowered "to set up a salt pen, if he can live upon it, and upon his trade," and the following year, John Winthrop, Jr., was given liberty to set up salt works at Royal Side. W. B. Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, i. 168–169. In 1641 the General Court of

New England shores, and with great profit if production were undertaken by a company. He succeeded in getting men to invest in such an enterprise, and applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for a charter granting monopolistic privileges of production. Not much is known about the later history of this enterprise. However, from the fact that Wharton asked for permission in 1687 to build a wooden salt-house, it seems probable that he, at least, continued permanently in the business. That he had confidence in its possibilities is shown by his later application for a royal monopoly grant.[1]

Wharton's next undertaking was a company for the development of naval stores. England had tried to interest the colonies in their production, but had not succeeded with New Englanders, although the northern forests abounded in trees of mast size and in pines suitable for tar products. Therefore there was a good opening for such an enterprise if the promoters could obtain exclusive privileges of production. For this, Wharton applied to the colonies of the New England Confederation in 1670. His petition was granted by Massachusetts and Plymouth for ten years. There is no evidence to show how successful this enterprise was. Presumably little was done with the tar products and the raising of hemp, but there must have been great profit in the lumber and mast business, particularly since shipbuilding was progressing by leaps and bounds.[2]

Massachusetts granted a monopoly of salt-making to S. Winslow for ten years (by his own process), and in 1648 to John Winthrop, Jr., for twenty-one years. Winthrop was to make salt from "meer salt water" for the use of the country. Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 331, ii. 229.

[1] Colonial Laws of Massachusetts (1887), p. 54; Calendar, 1675–1676, § 953; American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, xiii. 468; Massachusetts Archives, cxxviii. 2; French Protestant Refugee, pp. 24, 41; Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, i. 246–247. The committee appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts to treat with Wharton concerning his proposal, reported that they believed there was "so faire a probabillity for the raysing of salt in that way, & rationall encouragement for persons to advance as adventurers therein, that the Generall Court, in granting a charter for empowring a company of adventurers thereunto, may doe a publicke service for the country." Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 505.

[2] Register, ix. 339; Eleanor L. Lord, Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies in North America, p. 22. Plymouth made the grant on condition that the other colonies of the confederation give him the same privilege. Plymouth Colony Records, v. 65.

The third and largest scheme which Wharton promoted was the organization of a company primarily for developing mines in New England. There had been many previous attempts to discover and mine ore, and in the case of iron, with a fair amount of success. There was a revival of interest in minerals in the eighties, at which time Wharton's attention was attracted to the possibilities in that line. He began to plan an enterprise on a grand scale, one which included not only mines, but other industries in which he had been concerned for many years, the production of salt and of naval stores. After interesting a number of prominent New Englanders in the undertaking, he went to England, where he found many influential men eager to invest in stock. These he skilfully sifted, turning away the troublesome or doubtful, but encouraging those who had money and influence. Among the latter was Sir John Shorter, the Lord Mayor of London, whose coöperation gave great impetus to the undertaking. Although the company was to be directed from England, Wharton tried to obtain the presidency for his brother-in-law, Wait Winthrop. After the scheme was well launched, Wharton sought the aid and advice of a lord of the Privy Council who had the reputation of being influential with the king, and gave him "specimens of sundry ores and coppers" and of "our balsam, masticke, olibanum, and other my collections which were very pleasing to him."[1] Wharton presented his petition in February, 1688, for a most comprehensive grant of powers. The investors desired incorporation into a joint stock company with monopolistic privileges of mining copper, lead, saltpetre, and of producing salt, drugs, dyeing wares, and all materials for building ships. They asked, in case of discovery of mines, for a grant of land not exceeding seven miles square at a rent of sixpence per hundred acres, and for certain governmental powers, namely: that the company should have its own courts for trial of all civil pleas not exceeding ten pounds and not concerning titles of land, which might arise between their servants and other inhabitants of the colony; that the company should have its own coroner; that all deeds, fines, and forfeitures connected with servants of the company should accrue to the company; and that servants and officers of the company be exempt

[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 11–14.

from jury service outside of the company courts and from military service except in case of invasion or rebellion.[1]

Wharton and his New England companion, Hutchinson, were well received by the king in council, who referred the petition to a committee. Unfortunately Wharton and Hutchinson quarrelled over the heads of the charter, and while estranged, Hutchinson talked too freely with another group who started a rival movement. This competition, as Wharton wrote, gave "great trouble and delay to our business and abates many advantages we might otherwise have had." With his usual optimism, Wharton added that the "persons that hath given us the great trouble, will, when things come to a settlement, be managed as a good instrument to promote the prosperity of New England."[2]

The Lords of Trade gave "Wharton and others concerned" a hearing, then referred the proposal to the Lords of the Treasury, who in turn consulted the customs commissioners. The latter reported that they saw nothing objectionable in the proposal, provided that the corporation be "restrained from altering the plantation trade as now settled." The Lords of the Treasury thought it inadvisable to pass such a grant without first receiving the opinion of the governor of New England. The Lords of Trade then referred the petition to the attorney-general, asking for a comparison with the Duke of Albemarle's grant and for an opinion as to whether the king could legally and with due regard to local constitutions grant them such extensive powers as they desired. The attorney-general reported that the "privileges asked for may legally be granted, and though certainly they would be too great to be granted here in England, yet, since the corporation will reside in England and will be always under the King's eye, they may be proper enough for a country as yet so unpeopled especially if the corporation were bound to begin to work mines within a limited time." Blathwayt then instructed him to prepare a draught patent with the exceptions

[1] The following names are contained in the petition presented on February 10, 1688: Sir John Shorter, Lord Mayor of London, John Lacy, Daniel Cox, Robert Wolley, Richard Butler, Edmond Cox, Richard Wharton, Elisha Hutchinson, Jaheel Brenton, and Thomas Brattle, who petitioned for themselves and others. Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1680–1720, § 251. An extract from the petition is cited in Lord, Industrial Experiments, p. 16.

[2] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 14.

mentioned in the report, and with an additional clause requiring the company to produce some profit to the king as was the case with the Albemarle patent. This draught was made, but had not passed the seals when the revolution against James broke out, and brought procedure temporarily to an end.[1]

Wharton was chiefly interested in business, but he aspired also to be a large landowner. This ambition was not easy to achieve, because of the method by which New England had been settled and land granted. The original allotments were small, and although a few citizens possessed extensive holdings, these usually comprised a great number of small scattered farms and were not a continuous whole. In fact, in the colonies of the seventeenth century large landowners were rare. In spite of the ease with which land could be obtained in the south, there were comparatively few country gentlemen of the type of William Byrd of Virginia. In New York the Dutch patroon system had left behind some large estates like that of Van Rensselaer, and later English grants there produced a few land princes like Livingston and Courtland. In New England, until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, there were no such examples, although the Atherton Company, formed somewhat earlier, ultimately succeeded in developing a few large estates in the Narragansett Country. Among the members of this company were Fitz-John and Wait Winthrop, Wharton's brothers-in-law. Jurisdiction of the land held by this company, obtained mostly on a mortgage from the Indians, was claimed by both Connecticut and Rhode Island, so that the border feud between these two colonies, and the rival land claims, made extensive development of the property impossible for some time.[2]

In 1680 the company, desiring a settlement, appointed Lord Culpeper its agent in England and petitioned the king either to

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[1] Calendar, 1677–1680, § 1349–I; 1685–1688, §§ 901, 1629, 1809, 1839, 1840, 1850, 1855, 1859, 1863; 1689–1692, §§ 1811, 2466–I, 2467–II–XI; Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 383; R. N. Toppan, Edward Randolph (Prince Society), iv. 4, 221; 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 11–14, 14–15; Andros Tracts, iii. 8.

[2] There were before 1680 twenty-seven proprietors. After that date, the number increased. Among the new proprietors was Lord Culpeper, who acquired one-sixteenth interest and was appointed agent in England. 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 111.

confirm Connecticut's grant of the Narragansett Country or to add the territory to New Plymouth, or to establish it as a separate province. Wharton and Saffin, acting for the company, instructed Culpeper to ask the king to "commissionate judicious, righteous and uninterested persons to elect a Court of Claims in New England to determine all private claims and pretensions and to ascertain bounds between the colonies." A special commission was appointed in 1683, headed by Edward Cranfield, governor of New Hampshire, which reported that the title to the soil was vested in the Atherton Company and the jurisdiction belonged to Connecticut. Apparently that decision was ineffectual, for the proprietors again petitioned the king in 1684 for confirmation and establishment under Connecticut "or otherwise." The next year they declared themselves willing to pay the king two shillings sixpence per hundred acres as a quit-rent and to submit to such regulations as he saw fit. In expectation of the king's assumption of government there, the proprietors renewed their effort to colonize and at considerable expense established some French Huguenots who came over to America after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They made many grants of land, reserving a quit-rent on condition that the holder pay whatever acknowledgment the king should ask of the proprietors. The king took no immediate action and the Lords of Trade, to whom the matter was referred, decided to make no recommendation until they received a report from the new governor of New England on the company's claims.[1]

Wharton received an Indian grant of land in 1682 in the Nipmuck Country, near the lands of the Atherton Company. After King Philip's War, large numbers of Indian captives became the property of the United Colonies or of the individual members of the confederation, and were sold or allotted as compensation for war services. Wharton acquired several slaves by these methods, among them an Indian woman who "spake the Maqua tongue." An Indian named Andrew Pitamy, "upon the great importunity of most of the considerable Christian Indians," ransomed her, giving to Wharton five hundred acres of land in the Nipmuck Country in exchange.

[1] Massachusetts Archives, ii. 137; 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 466; 5 id., ix. 111; Calendar, 1677–1680, §§ 1532, 1537; 1681–1685, § 1556; 1685–1688, § 91–1.

This land was located near the grant made by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1682 to Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton.[1]

In 1683 Wharton apparently determined to make a bold endeavor to acquire a large estate in Maine, where he could establish a lordship and found a family. His son William was just coming to maturity and Wharton wished to interest him in this project of developing a manor. The time was propitious for such a plan because Massachusetts, through the recent acquisition of the Gorges propriety, now possessed large vacant tracts of land in Maine which she desired to have colonized. Wharton petitioned the General Court for a grant of land on this new frontier as compensation for an unjust court sentence imposed in 1674.[2] The court gave him an estate of one thousand acres, but before arrangements were made for laying it out, he asked for an extension. The magistrates voted to grant his petition, but the deputies, who did not like him, refused to do any more than make provision for laying out the one thousand acres already given him. At about the same time, he acquired other tracts by purchase, all in or near Casco Bay, one from Eleazer Way and the heirs of Thomas Purchas, whose title descended from a grant of the Council for New England, another from John Shapleigh, and in 1684 a large piece from six Indian sagamores. These tracts, called the Pejebscot Purchase, comprised an estate of about 500,000 acres.[3]

A part of the land thus acquired brought with it certain rights of lordship,[4] but not the privilege of government which Wharton

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[1] Suffolk Deeds, xiii. 203; 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 29; Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 370; Plymouth Colony Records, v. 210; Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699 (Original Narratives Series), pp. 13, 16.

[2] See p. 256 note 1.

[3] York Deeds, iii. 112 (Index of Grantees), viii. 56, 57, 58, 59; Savage, iii. 494; Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder, vi. 437, ix. 6, 132, 133, 196; Register, vi. 375, xiii. 264, xxi. 356–357, xliii. 152 note; Massachusetts Archives, iii. 352. Wharton wrote Wait Winthrop in July, 1683, that his business in Maine succeeded beyond his expectation and he hoped "to patch up matters to look like a whole piece." 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 113. See also R. H. Akagi, Town Proprietors of New England Colonies, pp. 244–245.

[4] One of Wharton's tenants at Kennebec, in possession of land for about twenty-six years, held of Wharton on condition that he pay yearly two dozen cusk or two dozen fish if demanded, to Wharton and his heirs forever. Maine Historical and Genealogical Records, ix. 6. The Purchas property carried the

coveted. Therefore, after the annulment of the Massachusetts charter, he petitioned the king "to take into his Royall Protection and Government" all of his (Wharton's) purchases and establish them as a manor, regranting them to him with a quit-rent reservation. He asked that all actions arising within the manor be tried there except those involving over one hundred pounds; that he might transport thither people of all nations who wished to come, promising them liberty of religion, English denization, and freedom for five years from arrest for debt if they began improving their estates within a year; and that he might have power to establish ports. He desired also to have exclusive rights of fishing, for with his usual vision he foresaw the possibilities of profit from the fisheries in that region. He apparently expected that the manor would be subject, except in local matters, to the authority of the royal governor soon to be appointed for New England.[1]

The Lords of Trade were evidently not in favor of granting such extensive privileges as Wharton wished. They were inclined to give him only as much land as he could improve in seven years, with liberty to fish, "so far as not to molest others." However, they referred his petition to the attorney-general, who reported that Wharton's draught contained nothing unfit for the king to grant. In spite of this report, the Lords of Trade were reluctant to make the grant without more first-hand information concerning the project, lest by sanctioning "engrossment" of the land, settlement of the region might be hampered. They therefore delayed the final decision until other matters concerning the government of New England should be determined.[2]

Wharton was also associated with another group in the Million Purchase, a scheme for land speculation on the Merrimac River. In 1685 he, with Joseph Dudley and Samuel Shrimpton, purchased from the chief Indian sachem on the Merrimac River a large estate, about six by ten miles square on each side of the river, including the river and all islands and other rivers issuing into the Merrimac, with sole right of salmon fishing, free fishing with angles and nets,

reservation of the right to the fur trade. 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 244.

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, ii. § 177; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 81, 153, 155.

[2] Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 166, 169, 276, 277, 360, 720.

free hunting, and all rights, privileges, royalties, etc. This land the three then sold to Charles Lidgett, John Blackwell, and Shrimpton in trust for a company of twenty stockholders, partly colonial and partly English. The investors put in twenty pounds apiece and were to share the land and profits equally. Before any of the land could be disposed of to other persons, twenty "parcels," each consisting of five thousand acres of the best, were to be set apart for themselves. To give the undertaking greater security than could the registration of titles in the colony, the promoters decided to seek royal confirmation with quit-rent reservation. In order to "grease the wheels" for speedy patent procedure, Dudley and Shrimpton, two of the trustees, presented William Blathwayt, secretary to the Lords of Trade, with a share. He must have accepted it, else, if one could trust Dudley's letter, the petition would not have been presented to the king. At any rate, his influence did not produce results, for no royal action was ever taken on the petition. As will be seen later, all these undertakings concerning land and mines were so bound up with the political events of the period following the annulment of the charter, that they must be considered with those events.[1]

Wharton's interest in the commercial and land enterprises was dependent on more than the material success he hoped they would bring. He enjoyed "playing the game," as his buoyant and enthusiastic letters testify. His imagination, power of organization, courage in taking risks, ability to inspire confidence in prospective investors, driving force, tireless energy, optimism, are all characteristics of the successful captain of industry. His interest in seeing the country developed, the mineral treasures discovered, the natural resources utilized, the commerce expanded, make this English promoter of the seventeenth century, in spite of his social distinction,

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[1] Jeffries Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), iv. 108, 111; Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 30–31, 138–150; Suffolk Deeds, xiii. 365, 366, 367; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 2128, 2176; Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 255, 256; Register, xxxi. 59; New York Colonial Documents, iii. 365 note. The stockholders were John Blackwell, Samuel Shrimpton, Charles Lidgett, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, John Usher, Richard Wharton, Daniel Cox, Robert Thompson, Edmund Harrison, William Blathwayt, Edward Randolph, Thomas Henchman, Jonathan Tyng, John Hubbard, Thaddeus Mackarty, and three other persons to be named by Blackwell, Shrimpton, and Lidgett.

seem very like the American frontier townsman of the nineteenth century, who would with little else than faith buy up large tracts of land for speculation, establish a real estate office, a bank, a store, and perhaps a newspaper, and at once step into a position of leadership which his vision had won for him.

Wharton was an economic imperialist, interested in business as a source of private wealth, of public prosperity, and of national expansion. This point of view often brought him into conflict with the Puritans, who were concerned primarily with their religious experiment and with maintaining their institutions in isolation and nominal independence of the mother country. One of the most conspicuous of these clashes came at the time of the Dutch capture of New York in 1673. Massachusetts at once assumed a position of neutrality, but Connecticut sent a letter to the Dutch officials at New York in the name of the United Colonies, threatening retaliatory measures if encroachments on New England territory were attempted. The United Commissioners endorsed the Connecticut letter, which Connecticut now sent to Massachusetts. The Massachusetts General Court was immediately called in special session, and instead of coöperation with the other colonies voted not to "engage in the concernes thereof, further then the making provision for our oune safety." [1] Massachusetts also ignored the king's proclamation of war against the Dutch, which had ordered all English subjects to make hostile attacks on the enemy's commerce. Wharton and other merchants who had suffered commercial losses at the hands of the Dutch and wished to indemnify themselves by privateering, appealed to the General Court for letters of reprisal. Their petition was denied. From these and other incidents, it was evident that Massachusetts intended to follow a policy of peace at any price.[2]

Wharton could not understand the General Court's attitude, and interpreted it as a treasonable position. Believing that the colonies

[1] Connecticut Colonial Records, iii. 486–488; Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. pp. 560–561.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 11. At about the same time, the General Court in declaring a Thanksgiving Day expressed its policy of peace and neutrality, "the Lord our God hath also been intreated to continue unto us our outward peace, notwithstanding the approach & success of enemies upon our neighboring coasts." Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 565.

would do nothing toward the recapture of New York, he wrote to English friends at court urging that the mother country send over a force and order the colonies to coöperate in conquering the province in the interests of the trade and defence of the empire. In a most eloquent letter he reminded the king —

> wt a fair foundation was here lately laid for the Royall ofspring of Great Brittain to build a most glorious empire upon, nor need I to you enumerate the many usefull & rich commodityes yt nature affords & yt Art & Industry may produce in these plantations: Onely this I confidently tell you & am psuaded that though these pts of the world are disesteemed by the Princes of Europe, yet if the most potent among them were seated with their subjects upon this continent it would be more difficult to psuade them to returne to their ancient Dominions then now it is to remove them thence.

He feared that the inhabitants of the northern and southern colonies were so "familiarized to the Dutch by trade & converse, that all will not believe they are their enemyes. And having such a convenient place of shelter & resort for their shipping his Majesty's subjects will be universally infested if not overrun & conquered in their Plantation & destroyed in their navigation." When the Massachusetts government heard that Wharton had informed the king "what the Dutch did on the coast and how he conceived it might be remedied, [he] was taken as no friend to New England and his letters stopped." They thought him disloyal to the colony because he might have involved it in war, and because he urged England to interfere in what they believed to be exclusively within the jurisdiction of the colony to decide.[1]

That he had considerable influence in England, they were well aware, which made him all the more to be feared. In this particular case, his suggestions, supported as they were by memorials from other colonists, would have been carried out but for the sudden ending of the war. The Lords of Trade were convinced of the danger that New England inhabitants, "being more intent upon ye advancement of their owne private trade then ye publique Interest of yor Maties crowne and Government may if ye Dutch continue a quiett

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[1] Calendar, 1669–1674, § 1144; 1675–1676, § 531; Register, xl. 170; Historical Magazine, 1867, pp. 297–298.

possession there enter into commerce with them" and lay the foundation for later union with Holland. They therefore recommended the recapture of New York. Their fears were justified, for a few months later, the States General instructed the governor of New Netherland to try, in spite of the war, to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the English colonies.[1]

The Massachusetts government was even more displeased with Wharton because of his defiance of its refusal to grant him letters of reprisal. News reached Wharton that a small Dutch vessel had fallen by accident into the hands of the Nantucket authorities. After having brought it into the harbor for repairs, its Dutch officers had abandoned it, and Molines, one of the crew, had claimed a part of the goods on the ground that he was an English denizen. The court at Nantucket without condemning the vessel, decided against Molines's claims. At this juncture, Wharton, "seeing such a fair & facil way for the purchasing & obtaining the sd ship & goods," with three other merchants bought it of the Nantucket authorities. As a protection against the enemy in case of capture, the associates secured from a Captain Anderson a licence of reprisal granted him by Colonel Stapleton, lieutenant-governor of the Leeward Islands, and pretended that the vessel had been seized by virtue of its authority. As soon as they could repair the Expectation, they planned to send it to an admiralty court for condemnation according to the terms of the licence. While the vessel was at Plymouth for repairs, Molines again laid claim to a part of the goods. The Plymouth governor apparently did not care to become involved in the admiralty intricacies of the case, and since the possessors were having difficulty in getting the repairs made, it was mutually agreed that they be allowed to give bond to take the Expectation to Boston and from thence to send it with the claimants to some other port and court of admiralty.[2]

The associates then applied to the governor and council at Boston for permission to bring the vessel into the harbor, for security against molestation while there, and for a passport hence for the "common port." The governor and council gave a noncommittal

[1] New York Colonial Documents, ii. 536, iii. 207, 211–212.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 12, 13, 18, 52, 115; Calendar, 1669–1674, § 1421.

answer that the associates should have all the favor that justice and the law would allow. After the ship's arrival at Boston, Molines again insisted upon his English denization and succeeded in getting restraints placed on a part of the goods.[1]

In the meantime the Dutch governor-general and the council of war at New York, upon hearing that the Expectation, commanded by Captain Vonck, was lying dismasted near Nantucket, had sent Captain Ewoutsen to rescue it with instructions not to attack any New England vessels unless the Expectation had been captured. If it had been, which they thought unlikely, then he was to "attack, capture, or endeavor to destroy all English boats and craft whencesoever they may be." Ewoutsen of course found the vessel gone and so captured four New England ketches in retaliation. One of them, the Providence, on its way from Virginia, was, ironically enough, freighted with forty-seven tubs of tobacco for "Wharton and Company." The Dutch governor and council, on examining the skippers of the captured ketches, October 29, 1673, learned with satisfaction that the seizure of the Expectation had been without the consent of the Boston authorities, under an English commission. They released the officers and crews and paid their expenses to Rhode Island, but later, to the chagrin of the Massachusetts authorities, declared the ketches forfeited.[2]

The Massachusetts government heard with surprise of the Dutch attacks on New England commerce and wrote a letter to the council at New York demanding a return of the vessels and men. When it learned of the existence of the Stapleton commission and the serious consequences of its use, the General Court, in order to protect the colony's shipping, declared an embargo on all vessels and started an investigation concerning the commission. Wharton and associates found themselves in a most unhappy situation. Their wilfulness in seeking, against the authority of the General Court, compensation for losses sustained from the Dutch, had involved them in greater loss, and the colony in a state of commercial war with the Dutch. They had become the centre of governmental and popular wrath and were in danger not only of losing the Expectation by an

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 18, 115, 52; Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 5.

[2] New York Colonial Documents, ii. 658, 659, 662, 663, 664, 667.

adverse decision in court, but also of being severely punished for disobedience.[1]

The associates, much concerned at the turn of affairs, now made an effort to vindicate themselves by sending the governor and council a deposition explaining their actions. They claimed that the king's declaration of war obligated the inhabitants of the colony to attack the commerce of the enemy, in spite of which the deputies had refused to grant them letters of reprisal, against the wishes of most of the magistrates. They explained how and why they got possession of the ship, and denied Molines's claim of denization, asserting that he betrayed the vessel first to the Dutch and then to the English, for his own profit. They made a plea for protection "from the injury of such persons as being too amicably inclined to our enemies will be too easily prejudiced against us," and requested that a court of admiralty be constituted for the trial of the ship, adding significantly, that they were most desirous "to render to the country in his majesty's and admirals behalf, such dividends and parts of the sd ship and goods as belong to them." If the request for trial were not granted, they asked for permission to take the vessel to their commission port.[2]

The General Court, though very angry with Wharton and associates, decided not to become involved in the case, possibly hoping that the Dutch would be able to distinguish between English and Massachusetts authority.[3] In spite of the embargo, the court on

[1] New York Colonial Documents, ii. 667; Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 52. Massachusetts was similarly aroused in 1655 when Captain Leverett seized a Dutch vessel trading in the colony, because he had acted "without the consent or allowance of authoritje heere established." Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 229, 234.

[2] A document (Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 52–53), dated June 30, shows by its context that it is the petition handed by Wharton and associates to the General Court in December, 1673. The June dating is probably due to the fact that the petition was used by the court when it accused the associates of insubordination in March and again in June. Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii., p. 577, v. 13.

[3] The Dutch were also desirous that the English colonies and New Netherland maintain friendly relations for trade purposes. In the secret resolutions of the States General is an acceptance of a proposal of the Board of Admiralty of January 29, 1674, to try to maintain neutrality with the English colonies, notwithstanding the war, and to conclude a treaty of commerce with them. The end of the war made such arrangements unnecessary. New York Colonial Documents, ii. 536.

December 10 gave the associates liberty to fit the ship for England and ordered that it be carried into one of his majesty's courts of admiralty there for trial. At its January meeting, "for some weighty reasons," it annulled the December order and introduced a radical change in the practice of handling admiralty matters. It is probable that the authorities desired to have the trial in the colony to prevent the associates from an almost certain award in an English court, but at the same time they took precautions to offer them no cause for challenging the authority of the court on the grounds of its not proceeding according to English admiralty law. Moreover, if commercial warfare with the Dutch continued, other cases would be coming to trial and the colony might be called to account by England for not acting in conformity with English maritime law and custom. Whatever the cause, the General Court passed a law providing that "henceforth all cases of admiralty shall be heard and determined by the Court of Assistants and to be Issued by the Bench without a Jury; unless the court shall see cause to the contrary." Wharton and associates, denied a pass to go to their commission port, asked for judication in this court, but Molines and his crew, preferring a jury trial, petitioned successfully against it. Meanwhile the war ended, the embargo was lifted, and the colony returned to its former method of trying admiralty cases by jury. After a long delay, the court of assistants, in June, 1674, referred the associates to the observance of their bond with Plymouth, but the latter could not get away, because Molines and the other claimants still detained the goods. Finally an order came from the king to the authorities at Boston ordering them to send the vessel to England for trial.[1]

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 26, 34, 45, 47, 48, 55; Records of the Court of Assistants, i. 15, 16; Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. pp. 573, 574; Calendar, 1669–1674, §§ 1357, 1421.

Massachusetts admiralty matters were usually conducted with juries, although the authorities, apparently appreciating that the colony's laws did not conform to English admiralty law, tried to give the impression that admiralty cases were tried without juries. On June 9, 1680, Randolph reported a case in which the accused was acquitted because the jury was made up of merchants and masters of ships, yet in a letter dated that same month, the governor in answering queries of the Lords of Trade reported that admiralty cases were tried "without a jury according to the Sea Laws." Calendar, 1677–1680, §§ 1383, 1494; 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 332–338.

Early in the spring of 1674 a new case developed out of the old. In February, Wharton and associates published with the notary public a protest against the delays caused them by Molines and his crew. This protest incensed the authorities and for the time being sidetracked the real issue. The governor and council declared it reprehensible "as confronting the government and laws of this colony and in particular the infringement of the jurisdiction of the admiralty court here established." The associates declared, also before a notary, that they had no intention of reflecting upon the authority of the government there or questioning the power of the local admiralty court, but that they aimed only to criticize those persons who had assisted the claimants in "their injurious and illegal attempts and proceedings." The matter was now taken up in General Court, which moved to re-examine the declaration submitted in December and reported finding "many expressions therein that are deeply reflecting upon the authority of this court, & upon severall members of it." The associates were brought to trial before the General Court, convicted and penalized, Wharton more severely than the rest because he was the leader. He was to be "solemnly admonished," disabled from pleading any cause but his own and that of Samuel Bellingham, and to pay thirty pounds toward expenses. The others were to receive "solemn admonishment" and pay only five pounds expenses.[1]

The episode of the Expectation illustrates well the contrast between the men who thought as Wharton did and the Massachusetts government, as to the conceptions of the relationship of the colonies to the mother country. The latter wished to have entire control of all matters of government, believing that the sovereignty rested

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 39, 43; Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 577, v. 13. Wharton considered this decision most unjust, and in 1677 succeeded in getting the restraint against his pleading in the courts removed. In 1683 he appealed for a grant of land in compensation for the wrongs he had suffered. The court, "understanding that the effects of the sajd sentence had exceeded the intentions thereof, and that if the sajd Wharton had then so fully & clearly represented his case as now he doth, he might have binn acquitted, therefore, for the sajd Whartons releise, and in manifestation of the Courts respect and favour," ordered "that the sajd sentence be totally and effectually reversed, and that for his full sattisfaction one thousand acres of land in the Province of Mayne" be granted to him. Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 153, 397. This grant was the nucleus of his Pejebscot Purchase.

with the colony, while Wharton's party thought of all the colonies as England's frontier, believing that the sovereignty was with England, who had delegated to the colonies only the authority in local government, reserving control in such matters of imperial concern as trade and defence. In the particular case of the Dutch War, the Puritans who dominated the Massachusetts government preferred to preserve the peace, in spite of England's orders, and believed the colony could thus determine its own action. Wharton and associates, seeing the war as an imperial affair, believed it not only their right but their patriotic duty to attack the commerce of the Dutch, and made the mistake of defying the local authorities by seizing the Expectation under an outside commission. They then stirred the factional fires in the General Court by using in self-defence the indiscreet remarks of some of the pro-English magistrates and by accusing the deputies who believed in Molines's denization, of Dutch sympathies and disloyalty to the mother country. Finally they turned the government against them by making insinuations against the authority of the local admiralty court and insisting on English admiralty law.

The Dutch War and the problems it brought in its wake had barely passed when King Philip's War broke out. Wharton, like many other pro-English colonials, found much to criticize in its management, which suffered from the usual defects of the system of defence in New England. The United Commissioners were able at times to bring about mutual coöperation of the four colonies in the confederation, but frequently Massachusetts determined her own course without regard for what such action might mean to her confederates. Late in 1675 the commissioners decided to attack the Narragansetts, whom they suspected of being in league with Philip. Connecticut's representatives asked Wharton to send provisions from Boston for the supply of the garrison on Richard Smith's estate, and a force of a thousand men was raised under the command of Winslow, the governor of Plymouth. This expedition was successful against the Narragansetts, but a second expedition sent early in 1676 to pursue them failed because of lack of provisions. After the withdrawal of the forces, a garrison of troops of the United Colonies was left at Richard Smith's house to protect the region, but the "Councill of Boston (to the great Surprise of many People)"

refused to maintain it. The troops after using up their supplies went home, and shortly afterward the Indians destroyed the house and other buildings. All through the war, the examples of selfishness, lack of coöperation, failure to organize the commissary, and poor leadership were many, as the records testify. Wharton was extremely dubious about the outcome because, though he had much respect for the fighting qualities of the soldiers, he had little confidence in the ability of the commanders to direct the forces and to organize the resources of the colonies effectively. His experiences in connection with the two wars made him fear that "except God give greater wisdom to their rulers or put it into the King's heart to rule and relieve them, the colonies will soon be ruined and they reduced to the necessity of subjecting upon any terms to any that will protect them." In the same letter he added, with his characteristic frankness and lack of tact, "Our Governor is crazy in body and many are so in their heads." [1]

Wharton and others of the pro-English group, freemen and non-freemen, were much concerned over the selfish particularism which made Massachusetts reluctant to spend resources of men and money on the protection of a neighboring colony unless there was actual danger to Massachusetts territory. Also they were irritated by the government's lack of interest in big business and land enterprises. For these reasons, they desired to get into power. The freemen among them preferred to do this by election to office without charter changes, while the non-free like Wharton advocated the establishment of a royal government which would adequately protect their interests, and in which they would be represented. They used every opportunity to express their opinions discreetly to royal officials in England and in the colonies, urging royalization and some provision for intercolonial action.[2] The pressure from this discontented element exerted a great influence on the Lords of Trade, who gradually in the decade after 1675 came to the decision that economically and politically Massachusetts would never fit into England's colonial system unless the charter were annulled. The colony's

[1] Connecticut Colonial Records, ii. 294 and note; Calendar, 1675–1676, § 816; Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699, pp. 48, 57–61, 63, 64, 66–68, 81–82.

[2] Hutchinson Papers, pp. 508, 509; Calendar, 1675–1676, § 721; 1681–1685, §§ 645, 1135.

gradual assumption of powers not granted by charter offered legal excuse for *quo warranto* procedure, which the lords instituted in 1683.

While the prominent non-freemen like Wharton were urging royalization, certain moderate Puritans, who after 1680 dominated in the council, were trying to prevent the leaders of the house of deputies from open defiance of the mother country. Upon the arrival of the king's declaration of 1683, announcing the immediate regulation of the government and promising only slight changes if the colony would submit, those who favored a middle course urged surrendering the charter. The house of deputies, incensed at such treason, hired an agent to defend the charter at law.[1] When the question arose in Boston town meeting, the champions of the charter won by strategy. Apparently they could not tell how many citizens desired compromise, and they feared the strength of the coalition of the pro-English freemen with the non-freemen, who could vote in town meeting except in the elections of deputies to the General Court. So the question was raised whether non-freemen should be allowed to vote on what was really a *colony* question, and was decided in the negative. Wharton, checkmated, withdrew in anger, accompanied by his followers among the non-freemen. After their departure, the vote on Mather's question was taken, whereupon someone fervently exclaimed, "The Lord be praised! Not a man held up his hand for the delivering up of the charter." [2]

The triumph of the advocates of the charter was short-lived. While they were setting fast days and defying England, the non-freemen were busy with suggestions for royalizing Massachusetts. Wharton's active mind seized upon this opportunity to send to the Lords of Trade "proposals for regulation of New England" and for the establishment of a royal government. Its organs were to be a general governor, council, and assembly, the governor and council to be also a supreme judiciary with appellate powers from inferior courts, from which appeals could be taken to the Privy Council, as in the other royal colonies. Suffrage laws were to be the same as in England, which would transfer the control of government from the

[1] Toppan, Randolph, iii. 273–274; Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 421–423, 424, 439–441; Calendar, 1681–1685, §§ 1145, 1445, 1566.

[2] Toppan, Randolph, iii. 283–284, iv. 244; Calendar, 1681–1685, § 1589.

Congregationalists to the propertied classes. To make the change of government acceptable, Wharton advocated general pardon to all who should submit, religious indulgence, confirmation of property, continuation of Harvard College, and preservation of all laws not contrary to those of England. Wharton's personal interest was responsible for one rather unusual suggestion. He proposed that the king appoint a registrar-general of lands in order to further the development of mineral resources, and incorporate a company for making pitch, tar, resin, and gums.[1]

Wharton's plan of government for New England was strikingly like that which the Lords of Trade finally adopted, with, however, the very important difference that in the latter the representative assembly was omitted. Who was responsible for the idea of consolidation, it is difficult to tell. At any rate, the Lords of Trade decided upon a single royal province whose relationship to the mother country should be clearly defined in the governor's commission and instructions. By this means important imperial interests such as trade and defence would be safeguarded and the right of England to regulate them recognized on both sides of the Atlantic. To pave the way for so great a change, the lords established a provisional government in May, 1686.

Wharton was the dominating personality of the small group of wealthy merchants and "grandees" to whom the reins of government were temporarily entrusted. He was related to six of them by marriage,[2] he was associated with six of them in the Million Purchase,[3] and with three of them in the Atherton Company,[4] while at least five besides himself were well-known merchants.[5] Fortunately for the success of the provisional government Wharton was not chosen president. Although exceedingly able and well-fitted to direct the economic policy of the new government, he lacked sufficient diplomacy to make the change of government acceptable to the supporters of the old régime. Since the provisional government was established

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[1] Calendar, 1681–1685, § 2033.

[2] Edward and Jonathan Tyng, Wait and John Winthrop, Dudley, Usher.

[3] Dudley, Stoughton, Randolph, Usher, Bulkley, Jonathan Tyng.

[4] John and Wait Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet. Bradstreet, however, refused to serve as councillor.

[5] Bulkley, Usher, Stoughton, Gedney, Pynchon.

primarily as a bridge between the old and the new order of things, it was wise to choose someone as nominal leader who was more popular than Wharton with the majority of the Congregationalists. Joseph Dudley, the son of one of the colony's founders, but withal as pro-English as Wharton himself, was selected.

These men were able to control not only the central, but also to a great extent the local government. The council had very extensive powers, for it was the sole legislative, administrative, and judicial machinery. It acted as supreme court, besides which each councillor served as justice in the inferior court of his own district. Its members likewise monopolized all of the other principal offices in the province. By commissions from England, Randolph was made collector of the customs, surveyor of the woods, deputy postmaster, and, to Wharton's chagrin, secretary and registrar, for Wharton, because of his land and mining interest, had hoped to receive that commission himself. Instead, he was appointed judge of the new admiralty court, a post which gave him great power over the enforcement of the navigation acts.[1] By council appointment, Usher was made treasurer, Stoughton deputy president, Wait Winthrop major-general of the militia, and Bulkley provost marshal-general.[2]

Wharton's ideal of a government directing and encouraging business was realized in the provisional government. It appointed a great and standing committee of trade which was really a league of town committees, among whose members were included some of the resident councillors.[3] It sent an agent to England to petition for changes in the new sugar imposts, and for the privilege of coining money.[4] Furthermore, it sanctioned the bank of credit scheme, hoping that by providing a medium of currency the bank would be a great benefit to commerce.[5] It forbade private individuals

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[1] Randolph soon accused him of conniving with illegal traders. Toppan, Randolph, iv. 114; New York Colonial Documents, iii. 582.

[2] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, ii. 13–14; 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 161; 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 231, 236, 240, 261, 262, 269; Toppan, Randolph, iv. 49–50, 58–59, 67–68, 69, 71; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 468, 472.

[3] 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 248–249; Calendar, 1685–1688, § 2132.

[4] 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 244–245.

[5] Id., xiii. 272; Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 104–106.

to trade with the Indians for furs anywhere in the Dominion except in New Hampshire without a licence from the government. However, Wharton himself was able to get from the council monopolistic privileges for the fur trade in his new Pejebscot Purchase.[1]

Wharton likewise found the new government as favorably disposed towards land speculation as towards commerce. The Million Purchase Company of which he and six other councillors were members petitioned the government to confirm its purchases in New Hampshire and to grant an addition in Massachusetts, including the townships of Concord, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster, Stow, and Dunstable, all to be formed into a county by the name of Merrimac, reserving the privilege of challenge to those who claimed rights to the soil. The president and council granted this petition.[2] Of still greater interest to Wharton was the new government's championship of the Atherton Company. The king had erected the Narragansett Country into a county and had added it as a separate unit to the Dominion. The president and council, in making a governmental settlement there, appointed three justices, two of whom were John Fones and Richard Smith, prominent resident proprietors. The latter was also commissionated sergeant-major and commander-in-chief of the militia of the county. The president and council then established a special commission to go to the Narragansett Country to "assert the authority granted by his Majesty's Commission & to prevent the Road Islanders further incursions." Of the fifteen members of this commission, five were councillors and seven were proprietors of the Atherton Company, Wharton and his brother-in-law Fitz-John Winthrop being both councillors and proprietors. The commission met at the home of Richard Smith at Rochester[3] and after settling governmental affairs, took up the matter of land titles. Provision was made that squatters on the lands of the Atherton Company should treat with the proprietors or their committee, from whose decision they could appeal to the

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 24; 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 242, 244.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 30–31; 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xiii. 255, 256.

[3] Now Kingston: see Publications of this Society, xxi. 295 note 2.

president and council.[1] This committee, consisting of Wharton, Hutchinson, and Saffin, met with much hostility and hatred from the poor squatters who could show no title to the soil and who were dispossessed. One of them was arrested for calling Major Smith "a great fat gutted Rouge a dogg," and Wharton "another fatt gutted Rouge a doublebelled dogg, . . . as for that Saffin, he did not well know what to make of him, but took him to be a Cunning Cheating Curr, but as for that Huchenson he thought he was a pretty honnest fellow but he fearred none so much as that Rouge Wharton." [2]

In spite of their policy of self-interest the councillors met with very little opposition in their brief enjoyment of power. The probable explanation is that they took care to interfere as little as possible with the existing religious and political customs and practices. They believed that it was a great mistake on England's part to remove the representative assembly, and at the very beginning of their administration petitioned England for re-establishment of representative government. It was this understanding of, and sympathy with, governmental and religious privileges, which made the administration a successful bridge between the old charter government and the Andros administration which followed. Because of this success, the councillors stood high in the favor of the Lords of Trade, and in spite of Randolph's complaints they were all included in Andros's council.[3]

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[1] Connecticut Colonial Records, iii. 201, 202, 208–209, 353; Toppan, Randolph, i. 289–290; 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, ix. 469; 5 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, ix. 153; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 702–III, 819, 925; Rhode Island Colonial Records, iii. 197.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 113, c. 389; 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, ix. 469. Randolph Holden of Rhode Island complained to the king that "since Joseph Dudley has been installed President they have taken the government of the province from us, and by a Committee, consisting of Elisha Hutchinson and John Saffin of Boston, formed to dispose of those lands, they have been making sale and merchandise of them, turning your Majesty's province to their private advantage and to your great loss." Calendar, 1685–1688, § 819.

[3] That is, except those who had refused to accept office under Dudley, — Simon and Dudley Bradstreet, Nathaniel Saltonstall, and Francis Champernoon. For the names, see Andros's instructions in Laws of New Hampshire, i. 156; Publications of this Society, xvii. 32–44.

Wharton held as prominent a place in the Andros government as in the provisional, and apparently expected very little if any change in the new administration's economic and political interest. He and his friends were soon disillusioned, for they found that Andros blocked all their schemes for commercial profit and land aggrandizement. Andros vigorously enforced the navigation acts, he practically eliminated piracy, in which the Massachusetts ring were accused of being involved,[1] and he opposed all attempts to regulate the currency. Wharton, like other merchants, was anxious to have the new government make a satisfactory settlement of the troublesome money question. The closing of the mint after the annulment of the charter had made money very scarce, because it decreased the actual amount in circulation. Hence money was the crying need when the pro-English party came into power. To their disappointment, the Lords of Trade decided not to grant the petition of the president and council for the privilege of coining money.[2]

The one remaining hope of the merchants was to improve currency conditions by a judicious regulation of the value of foreign and domestic coins, so they tried to persuade Andros to take some action to prevent the little money that was left from being transported out of the colony. Wharton presented a paper to the council in which he had worked out an intricate scheme for raising the value of both domestic and foreign money in such a ratio that neither would have a disastrous effect on the other, but both would remain in the colony. The farmers opposed this proposal because they believed it would be the same as reducing the price of agricultural products. Andros, interpreting his instructions too strictly, refused to allow any such change. Thus the merchants were worse off as to the money question than they had been under the old government, because the

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[1] Randolph, in a letter to the Lords of Trade after the revolution, in 1689 made this charge against the Massachusetts merchants, but he cites as his only evidence, Wharton's acting as attorney for Lamoyn, who was a privateer, not a pirate. He added, "I forbear to trouble your Lordships with the instances of any more pyratts who have bin received and protected by some now in the present government." Toppan, Randolph, iv. 279; Calendar, 1689–1692, § 152, p. 47.

[2] Laws of New Hampshire, i. 172; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 909, 929, 944.

Dominion government would not regulate foreign coinage and was forbidden to coin money.[1]

The adverse settlement of the matter had a serious effect on commerce at a time when the latter was having many other difficulties. The strict enforcement of the acts of trade greatly reduced the amount of illegal foreign trade, by which articles were obtained for the purchase of enumerated products in the southern and island colonies. Consequently there was a decrease in the amount of enumerated products purchased, which in turn affected the trade with the mother country, a trade in which the colonies paid usually in enumerated products or hard money. Very soon the little money that had remained in the province was drained off, so now the merchants had neither money nor sufficient enumerated products to use in exchange trade with England. The result was most disastrous. Merchant after merchant went bankrupt and shops were closing every day in Boston. Even Wharton with all his wealth was almost impoverished. The reason for the alienation of the merchant class against Andros is therefore apparent.[2]

Wharton was as concerned over Andros's disapproval of land speculation as he was over his lack of understanding of business problems. Although the Lords of Trade had empowered Andros to grant the lands which had reverted to the king upon the charter cancellation, they reserved to themselves action on the petitions from Wharton and the land companies, probably because of the size of the coveted tracts. However, they decided to ask Andros to investigate the claims of the petitioners and to give his advice concerning the wisdom of making such extensive grants.[3] Andros reported adversely. The titles to the Million Purchase he found were based mostly on Indian grants or purchases, and consequently worthless legally. Of the many claims to the Narragansett Country, he believed only those of Rhode Island valid, but since Wharton had made improvements on a part of it, Andros reported that he had granted to him about seventeen hundred acres, reserving to the king a quit-rent of ten shillings per annum. Andros urged the

[1] Wharton's paper is to be found in Massachusetts Archives, c. 162–163, incorrectly dated. See V. F. Barnes, Dominion of New England, p. 163 note 75.

[2] Goodrick, Randolph, vi. 216, 219, 235, 236, 251.

[3] Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 360, 856.

Lords of Trade to settle the claims of the proprietors as soon as possible, so that the land could be patented to others who were in possession and to those who would make settlements.[1] Concerning Wharton's Pejebscot Purchase, Andros reported that the titles were defective, and he expressed his disapproval of granting large tracts to individuals because it hindered settlement.[2]

Andros's opposition to what he called the "engrossment of large tracts of land" affected the "grandees," as his commercial and currency policy had the great merchants. Unwisely he had antagonized the two classes which had at the outset supported his administration. One more false step united the large and small landowners alike in opposition to him. By his instructions he was given discretionary power to reserve quit-rents in confirming old titles to land. He apparently thought it necessary to force a recognition of English land law, partly to correct defective titles and partly to curb the spirit of independence. Confirmation of title required payment of fees. Coming at a time when money was scarce, this fee naturally was a great hardship for the small landowner, and still worse for the large landowner, who was required to take out a separate title for every piece of land. For Wharton the policy was ruinous. Added to the financial burden of his recent extensive land purchases in Maine and to considerable money invested in the settlement of the Narragansett Country, he must now pay many fees for confirmation of his titles and quit-rents of two shillings sixpence for every hundred acres of land. And all this at a time when the decline in trade and the scarcity of money threatened to wreck the fortune which he had invested in commerce. The work of his whole life was threatened with destruction by this unfortunate combination of events. Wharton felt that nothing could be done with Andros, who plainly could not see the harm he was doing. Wharton therefore determined to go to England at once to see what could be achieved through his influence at court.[3]

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 203; Toppan, Randolph, ii. 33; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 1319, 1414.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 63, 204; Gay Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), State Papers, vi.; Andros Tracts, iii. 74; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 1414–iv, 1496.

[3] Samuel Sewall wrote to a friend, "The most remarkable within my view since your being here is the Going off of Counselour Wharton, Mr. Charles

Arrived in England, Wharton worked with his customary vigor and shrewdness for the land patents and the chartering of the mining company. He had to admit in a letter to Wait Winthrop in November, 1687, that he had "made noe pgess in any business of concernmt," but he reported optimistically that "some lords and persons of quality" who had seen Andros's report thought "it may prove more to our advantage then was intended."[1] He had great confidence in Lord Culpeper, the official agent of the Atherton Company, who promised "to make ye best out." Two months later, Lord Culpeper, apparently convinced that no royal patent to the company would be forthcoming, petitioned the king to instruct Andros to confirm to the proprietors as individuals the lands they had purchased, the whole not to exceed 60,000 acres and to be surveyed at their own cost. The petition was referred to the Lords of Trade, who recommended granting it on condition that the usual quit-rents be reserved and that all disputes which Andros could not decide be referred to Whitehall. Practically the same decision was made concerning the Million Purchase and the Pejebscot estate. No royal grants were made, but instead, it was left to Andros to confirm such titles as seemed to him advisable, having a regard for the other claimants and the squatters.[2]

As has been previously noted, Wharton's efforts in behalf of the mining company brought results, but not without delay and modification of the original plan. Wharton, as usual, overreached himself in asking that the company be given such extensive privileges and powers. Had the charter draught been simpler at the outset it is probable that it would have passed the seals before it was overtaken by the revolution.

After many months of hard work, Wharton's hope of settlement of the land projects slowly faded away. It became apparent that everything hinged on Andros, since the Lords of Trade would make no decision without his advice. Only one thing remained to be

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Morton, Mr. Woodrof, the Scotch Minister, Madam Bridgett Usher and her daughter which fell out last Tuesday." Sewall, Letter Book, i. 50.

[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 9. Povey wrote Randolph from London, April 25, 1688, "Mr. Wharton has severall businesses depending tho I doubt not much to his satisfaction." Toppan, Randolph, iv. 221.

[2] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 9, 14–15, 15–16; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 1594, 1695.

done, and that was to work for Andros's removal, and for the appointment of someone who better understood New England conditions. Consequently Wharton began to coöperate with those who, under the leadership of Increase Mather, were in England petitioning the king for changes in the Dominion government. James promised certain religious and economic concessions, but would give no hope of extensive political reforms. Then came the signs of approaching revolution, and Wharton again became hopeful. "Great Revolutions seem to be hasting on," he wrote his brother-in-law, "out of which New England may, I hope, find deliverance." [1] But after the revolution Mather petitioned for the restoration of the old charter with grant of additional powers, a thing that Wharton and his friends could not approve. Nor did the Lords of Trade, who were already considering a more extensive use of the Dominion principle in the colonies.[2] They recommended in the spring of 1689 the removal of Andros and the appointment of a new governor of New England, New York, and the Jerseys. An order in council followed and the lords were directed to consider candidates for the position.[3] Again there was hope of an administration sympathetic toward business interests and the land projects. Moreover, the mining enterprise would receive the favorable attention which investors could not give it when there was uncertainty and danger of return to the former colonial governments in New England. However, almost immediately the charter supporters began to fight this decision. At this critical time, when only careful generalship could save his own fortune and give any chance of permanent political success to the moderates, Wharton, worn out by the strain and worry of the last two years, became ill, and died on May 14, 1689. He left to his family an estate so heavily burdened with debt that

[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 17. He wrote practically the same letter to Hinckley, former governor of Plymouth. 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 713, 714, 712–713; Massachusetts Archives, cvi. 369, xi. 44; Calendar, 1685–1688, §§ 1860, 1878, 1879; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, i. 367.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, cxxix. 317, 345; Andros Tracts, iii. 152–153; Gay Manuscripts, Phips Papers, i. 17, 18, 19–20; New York Colonial Documents, iii. 574; Calendar, 1689–1692, §§ 18, 25, 123, 124, 144, 145.

[3] Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, ii. 124–125, 129, 130; Gay Manuscripts, Phips Papers, i. 21; Calendar, 1689–1692, §§ 28, 75, 90, 102; 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 298; New York Colonial Documents, iii. 573, 574.

two of his daughters, Sarah and Bethia, were later forced to support themselves by keeping a little shop in Boston.[1]

To make the tragedy of his death more complete, shortly afterward news arrived of the Boston revolution, an event which marked the ruin of the Dominion government which Wharton had helped to build. Mather now used this report to strengthen the charter cause. If Wharton had lived, those who thought with him would have had as able a leader at court as the charter supporters had in Mather,[2] and the scales which balanced uncertainly when the king first heard of the revolt, might have settled on the side of the Wharton faction and the Dominion, against the revolutionists, as in New York. In New England there still remained a considerable number of people who preferred the Dominion government to the old charter régime, in spite of the efforts made by adherents of the latter to win their support by a great extension of the suffrage in the months following the revolution. Charter champions insisted that only about a seventh of the inhabitants favored the Dominion, but even if this were true the minority represented a group strong through wealth and social position. Lacking leaders, their efforts were scattered and without effect. They were unable to prevent the permanent disintegration of the Dominion and the return to charter government.[3]

The royal charter of 1691, because it did not restore the Congre-

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[1] Toppan, Randolph, ii. 79 note; Sewall, Diary, i. 225. John Higginson, a brother-in-law, wrote to his brother Nathaniel in 1692, "Our brother Wharton died in London about two yrs since, as suppose you have heard. His estate, being much entangled, I doubt there will be nothing left for his two daughters Sarah & Bethia." 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 198. John's father, the Rev. John Higginson, also wrote to Nathaniel, who was apparently a wealthy man, exhorting him to "remember your sister Wharton's two daughters to help forward their shop-keeping, for they keep a small shop at Boston; and are like to continue as ancient maids, I know not how long, Sarah being 25 or 26 years old." Id., vii. 198, 199.

The Superior Court of Judicature of Massachusetts in 1697 authorized Ephraim Savage as administrator of Wharton's estate to sell the Pejebscot Purchase to pay his debts. York Deeds, viii. 58.

[2] Mather skilfully used the occasion of the war to insist that the New England colonies would coöperate better if charter governments were restored. Andros Tracts, iii. 151–152 note, 153.

[3] Andros Tracts, iii. 198; Calendar, 1689–1692, §§ 1390, 1393, 1404; 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 301–302.

gationalists to their former political power, marks an epoch in the constitutional development of Massachusetts. The king reserved the right to choose the governor and gave the suffrage to property-holders. Because of these provisions, the two parties were more evenly balanced in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth. Never again was the suffrage denied to substantial propertied men like Wharton because of religious nonconformity, nor was it possible for a small aristocratic ring to control the government in the interests of its members. Both parties changed somewhat, — the one losing its decidedly pro-English attitude, the other modifying its separatistic religious and anti-English position. Moreover, new issues brought new alignments and new factions. However, the general character of the eighteenth-century parties was largely determined by the two rival groups of the seventeenth century, — the pro-English, and the supporters of the old charter government. Wharton was typical of the one group, Increase Mather of the other.[1] The seventeenth-century Puritans have bequeathed to us a rich inheritance of ideals, but we owe much also to those other colonial Englishmen who saw New England, not as a place of refuge for a chosen people, but as the frontier of England, with the governmental principles of the mother country transplanted and modified to suit the conditions of the new world. From both of these strands the fabric of New England life and institutions was woven.

Mr. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO presented the following communication on

JOHN LANGDON'S SPEECH
A NEW HAMPSHIRE TRADITION

> God bless New Hampshire! — from her granite peaks
> Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks.

So exclaimed Whittier in the opening lines of an anti-slavery poem which he wrote about 1845. Few of us are likely to quarrel with the poet for giving New Hampshire his benediction, or for identify-

[1] Increase Mather greatly modified his position after the granting of the charter of 1691. Having failed in his efforts to bring about complete restoration of the old charter, he accepted the compromise charter as the best that could be had under the circumstances and thenceforth became its defender.

ing General Stark with the voice of freedom. But what claim to fame has John Langdon of Portsmouth, that his name should be linked with that of Stark? He was, to be sure, a leader of the bold party that captured Fort William and Mary and removed the powder in broad daylight in December, 1774. But for that matter so was John Sullivan of Durham. Langdon was for a time a member of the Continental Congress, as were at least a half-dozen other New Hampshire worthies during the war. He was present at Burgoyne's surrender in 1777;[1] but it was Whipple who shared with Stark the command of the New Hampshire militia, and it was Whipple who was one of those appointed to sign the articles of capitulation when Burgoyne had made up his mind to yield.[2]

Whence, then, this preëminence of John Langdon which entitles him as a revolutionary hero to take his place beside Stark? The answer is: He is said to have financed with his own resources Stark's expedition in the summer of 1777, the expedition that more than justified itself at Bennington. If Langdon did this, Whittier was right and the name of Langdon may well be ranked with that of John Stark whenever New Hampshire's revolutionary history is brought to mind.

What happened was briefly this. When the unexpected news of the abandonment of Ticonderoga by the American army reached Exeter the leaders of the revolutionary party were greatly disturbed, and well they might be. With Ticonderoga gone there was no reason to suppose that Burgoyne would not invade the New Hampshire Grants and New Hampshire itself. Something must be done, and it must be done at once. The Committee of Safety called an immediate meeting of the Assembly. The Assembly including the Council met as a Committee of the Whole and discussed the critical situation. The scheme agreed upon was to divide the whole militia of the state into two brigades. Whipple was to command one and Stark the other. Then every fourth man in Stark's brigade and in three of the regiments under Whipple's command was to be drafted into immediate military service for two months for the defence of the frontier. Of this force Stark was to be the commander, and

[1] John Langdon to Robert Morris, November 10, 1777. Letter printed in S. V. Henkels's Catalogue No. 1183.

[2] James Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times, i. 309–310.

every drafted man was to receive one month's pay in advance. All this was very practical, but it meant an immediate outlay of about seven thousand pounds at a time when there was almost no money in the treasury.[1] John Langdon was a well-to-do merchant and shipbuilder of Portsmouth. He was also the speaker of the House of Representatives. Somehow Stark's rustic army was raised, and a month later the fight at Bennington determined Burgoyne not to attempt another foray in the direction of New Hampshire.

These are the bare facts of the special session of July 17–19, 1777, and its direct consequences. But biographers and historians have not been content with the bare facts. The situation held dramatic possibilities and posterity has developed them to the utmost. The most interesting development is the speech which Langdon is said to have made when he offered to finance Stark's expedition. You may read it in any one of a dozen books, but probably it appears at its best in Trevelyan's American Revolution.[2]

Their Speaker, John Langdon of Portsmouth, [wrote Trevelyan] addressed them in words which it is well to quote in full as a specimen of the oratory employed during those sternly practical times, in the unsophisticated regions situated to the North of the Merrimac River. "I have," he said, "three thousand dollars in hard money. I will pledge my plate for three thousand more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed in defending our homes, I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our

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[1] New Hampshire State Papers, viii. 635–637.

[2] George Otto Trevelyan's American Revolution, pt. iii. p. 130. Langdon's speech is also quoted in the following works, ranging in date from 1834 to 1916. The titles are listed here in chronological order:

J. M. Whiton, Sketches of the History of New Hampshire, p. 136; C. J. Fox and Samuel Osgood, The New Hampshire Book, p. 25; Lossing, Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, i. 393; W. H. Bartlett, History of the United States, i. 437; C. W. Brewster, Rambles about Portsmouth, i. 361; Caleb Stark, Memoir of General John Stark (1860), p. 46; E. D. Sanborn, History of New Hampshire, p. 182; W. C. Bryant and S. H. Gay, Popular History of the United States (1879), iii. 580; J. L. Elwyn, "Some Account of John Langdon," in New Hampshire State Papers (1891), xx. 858; C. R. Corning, "John Langdon," in New England Magazine, New Series (1897), xvi. 622; F. B. Sanborn, New Hampshire, p. 226; H. D. Foster, "Stark's Independent Command at Bennington," in New York State Historical Association Proceedings (1905), v. 24; E. S. Stackpole, History of New Hampshire, ii. 136.

old friend Stark, who so nobly sustained the honour of our State at Bunker's Hill, may be safely entrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne."

It is worth noting that, in the many nineteenth-century works in which these patriotic phrases have been repeated, the accepted version of them seems to have been that established in 1834 by Edward Everett in his Life of John Stark in Jared Sparks's American Biography.[1]

Where did Everett find the story and to a certain extent the rhetoric? This I found to be a difficult question. Belknap, writing in the 1780's, when Langdon was at the height of his popularity, mentioned neither his speech nor his patriotic offer, — though Langdon was a subscriber to Belknap's admirable History of New Hampshire. On the other hand the Marquis de Chastellux, who drank tea with Langdon at Portsmouth one November afternoon in 1782 — just five years and a few months after the incident in question — seems to have heard of *a* speech made by Langdon at some time during Burgoyne's campaign. According to him Langdon addressed the Assembly in these words: "Gentlemen, you may talk as long as you please, but I know that the enemy is on our frontiers, and that I am going to take my pistols, and mount my horse, to combat with my fellow-citizens." [2]

For forty years after the publication of Chastellux's Travels I find no quotation of Langdon's speech, even in the eulogies which followed his death in 1819. Suddenly in 1828 it bobs up again. On July 4 of that year Isaac Hill, delivering a pro-Jackson harangue before the Republicans of Portsmouth, played upon local pride whenever he could do so. Hill was a Jacksonian, a Concord man, a politician, and the editor of The New Hampshire Patriot. What is more, he was, in 1828, the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. The most conspicuous Democrat Portsmouth had thus far produced was John Langdon, and Hill took care that no one in the audience should fail to see the political connection between Langdon and Jackson. Among other references to Langdon's glorious record he related an incident which he said "the late Judge

[1] Jared Sparks, American Biography, i. 78.

[2] Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America (London, 1787), ii. 232. Cf. William Gordon, History of the American Revolution, ii. 569.

Walker of Concord," who was "a member of the provincial assembly" in 1777, had often told. The following is Isaac Hill's version of the story:

> Intelligence was received that Burgoyne's army was marching down upon our infant settlements, through the then wilds of Vermont, and that his was a war of extermination. Consternation palsied every bosom: the men shuddered and attempted to conceal their fears — women and children broke forth in shrieks of agony. The provincial legislature was in session at Exeter when the appalling news arrived: the members of that body were discouraged and disheartened. The public credit was gone — they had not the means to subsist a regiment, if they could raise one: the men of New-Hampshire had already gone to what they supposed the full length of their ability. Langdon was speaker of the assembly; and on the instant he makes this proposition: "I have (said he) three thousand dollars in hard money — I will pledge the plate in my house for three thousand more; and I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum which shall be disposed of for what it will bring. — These, and the avails of these, are at the service of the State; if we defend our homes and our fire sides, I may get my pay — if we do not defend them, property will be of no value to me." [1]

Hill's address was printed at Concord in 1828. The similarity of his version of Langdon's speech to that given by Everett in his Life of Stark, published six years later, is so striking that one can hardly believe that Everett did more than to polish and amplify the somewhat raw material which he found in Hill's harangue. Besides polishing it he put into Langdon's mouth an additional glowing phrase or two about "our old friend Stark who so nobly sustained the honor of our State at Bunker's Hill." Where Everett found that additional sentence I have been unable to discover; but when one considers that he was writing a life of Stark, to which Langdon was only incidental, it is not difficult — though it may be unfair — to form a conjecture.

When all is said and done, there seem to be three fairly safe conclusions that may be drawn in regard to the tradition of John Langdon's speech. The first is that he made a patriotic speech before the Assembly in the summer of 1777, which was still remembered in

[1] Isaac Hill, Address delivered before the Republicans of Portsmouth and Vicinity, July 4, 1828, p. 4.

Portsmouth five years later when the Marquis de Chastellux visited the place. The second is that the phraseology of his speech, as recalled by Judge Walker of Concord, first found its way into print in 1828, when Isaac Hill's Address to the Republicans of Portsmouth was published. And the third is that Edward Everett, treating Hill's version with more or less freedom, gave to the speech the form and phraseology in which it has persisted for almost a century. What John Langdon actually said to the New Hampshire Assembly in July, 1777, is a question I leave with you.

Mr. Benjamin Loring Young spoke on the presentation to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of a portrait of Sir Henry Vane. He said, in part:

My pleasant task this evening is to describe briefly the circumstances under which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has received a portrait of Sir Henry Vane as a joint gift from Baron Barnard and the Society of Colonial Wars.[1] This portrait is, perhaps, the most interesting historical gift which the Commonwealth has ever received.

Christopher William Vane, Baron Barnard, is the tenth holder of the title which was established in 1698, when Christopher Vane, of Barnard Castle in the County Palatine of Durham, son of our Massachusetts Governor, was elevated to the peerage by William III as Baron Barnard. The present baron was born in 1888, educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, served in the war and, according to records available at the State House, has been Major of the Sixth Durham Light Infantry. He is seventh in direct line of descent from Sir Henry Vane.

He learned of the desire of the Commonwealth to acquire a portrait of his ancestor, Sir Henry Vane, through the activity of the English Speaking Union in London. The Union in turn had been asked to assist in this endeavor by Mr. Edward Francis Gray, Consul General of His Britannic Majesty in Boston. The Baron was the possessor of several portraits of Sir Henry Vane and, wishing to assist the Commonwealth, investigated the subject and

[1] For the collection of portraits of the governors made by the Commonwealth, see also my remarks referred to on pp. 162–164, above.

found another available portrait which he had sent to his seat at Raby Castle and from there to our State House.

This portrait coming direct to us from Raby Castle brings to our minds the scenes and memories of many centuries of English history. We think of most of our early Puritan Governors as New Englanders who left the old world behind and came here to find a permanent home. Sir Henry Vane, however, ties together the old world and the new. He is remembered in history rather as an English statesman than a Colonial Governor of Massachusetts. His history and achievements are, of course, well known. John Fiske called him "one of the greatest Puritan statesmen of that heroic age," and said that he was a "thorough republican and enthusiastic lover of liberty, . . . spiritually akin to Jefferson and Samuel Adams." [1]

Within a few days Vane's portrait will be received by his Excellency the Governor, on behalf of the Commonwealth, to remain forever the property of the people of Massachusetts. The portrait is by an unknown artist, but we have Lord Barnard's statement that it is unquestionably a likeness of Sir Henry and in all probability an original contemporary work. The expense of its purchase is being shared equally by Lord Barnard and the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars. Lord Barnard has sent me a letter with a few lines of his own which he has suggested I read in his behalf when the formal presentation of the portrait takes place. These lines are as follows:

RABY CASTLE,
STAINDROP,
DARLINGTON.
21st March, 1925,

GENTLEMEN,

I consider myself both fortunate and privileged in no small degree, in that I have been able, in conjunction with the Society of Colonial Wars, to be instrumental in assisting the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to acquire the portrait of one of its former Governors — Sir Henry Vane the Younger, of Raby Castle.

It is a privilege for a direct descendant of Sir Henry Vane, as I am, to be in the position in which I find myself to-day, and I am delighted to think that my small efforts have assisted the important and historic

[1] The Beginnings of New England (1902), p. 142.

Sir Henry Vane

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a painting owned by The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

Commonwealth of Massachusetts in adding to the treasures of its State House, and to feel that my ancestor's portrait will be received into the keeping of a people with so great a history.

Of the portrait itself, I fear I can say but little. It is very similar to others which I have seen, but at the same time is not exactly alike to any. It follows the style of the portrait of Sir Henry in the National Gallery, London (by Dobson) and might be by one of his pupils.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to be,
Your obedient servant
BARNARD.

I think we can assure the Baron that during the three centuries of the existence of Massachusetts as the home of a free people we have held none of our Governors in greater honor or deeper reverence than his distinguished forbear, Sir Henry Vane, and we can assure the Baron not merely of the deep gratitude which we feel toward him and the Society of Colonial Wars but also of a hearty welcome whenever he sees fit to follow the course of his distinguished ancestor and sets foot himself on the shores of Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE read a paper on "Harvard College Vacations," which is to be printed elsewhere.[1]

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read some extracts from the Diary of Josiah Cotton, speaking as follows:

Little is known of student life at Harvard College in the early days, and though accounts are eagerly sought for, few are found. The one I am about to read, though not written until perhaps thirty years after graduation and so lacking the contemporaneous touch, yet contains something of interest.

In the Plymouth Church Records is an amusing account of the "offences committed by Mris Dorothy Clarke," the wife of Nathaniel Clark, among them Mrs. Clark's "violent carriage to a child of the pastors," which consisted of her being "in a passion, when she pulled the lad out of the tree with her hand, & then threw him over the fence," and of "putting a key into the childs mouth," causing it to bleed; and it was asserted, seemingly not without reason, that

[1] See Harvard Graduates' Magazine, December, 1925.

Mrs. Clark "in divers words & carriages showed an evill frame of spirit." [1] The youth subjected to the indignities of the Plymothean Amazon was the writer of the Diary from which I quote — namely, Josiah Cotton (1680–1756), son of the Rev. John Cotton (1640–1699; H. C. 1657) of Plymouth and Joanna (Rosseter) Cotton, and grandson of the Rev. John Cotton (1585–1652) of Boston. In an earlier portion of his Diary, the incident is mentioned in a letter written by his mother January 19, 1692, in which she gives "a catalogue of the most remarkable" mercies accorded the boy: "Mercy 9. You remember how near you was to death by the hurt & ffall from a tree: There was but a hands breadth betwixt you and death. Then O the goodness & longsuffering of God!"

Josiah Cotton's account of his school and college days is as follows:

My younger days were attended with the follies & vanities incident to youth; howsoever I quickly learnt to read, without going to any school that I remember — I began to learn Latin under y^e^ Rev^d^ Mr Wisewall [2] at Duxborough, with whom I continued some months; & he then being invited to a voyage for England in y^e^ countrie's service, I was sent to school at Barnstable where the Rev^d^ Mr. Jonathan Russell [3] was my instructor, with whom I tarried about two years, and then about y^e^ year 1692 remov^d^ to Mr. Joseph Dassett's [4] school at Boston, under whose tuition I was till God took him away by death: In whose school succeeded Mr. Peter Burr,[5] to which (after I had been a small space again w^th^ Mr Wisewall) I returned, & continued with Mast^r^ Burr until my admission into y^e^ Colledge. My school exercises were not attended with that difficulty that some meet with, by reason of a memory which God had favored me with — My school masters were capable & faithfull from whom I met with very good quarter.

I was admitted into y^e^ Colledge Jun. 29. 1694. The Rev^d^ Mr Increase Mather being then President, Mr. Leverett [6] & Mr Brattle [7] Fellows of Harvard Colledge, who signed my *admittatur*. Mr Leverett was my Tutor & Mr Brattle my Patron, tho. brought up at my father's

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[1] Our Publications, xxii. 265–266. The incident is recorded under date of July 3, 1689.

[2] Rev. Ichabod Wiswall (d. 1700).

[3] Rev. Jonathan Russell (H. C. 1675).

[4] Joseph Dassett (H. C. 1687).

[5] Peter Burr (H. C. 1690).

[6] John Leverett (H. C. 1680).

[7] Rev. William Brattle (H. C. 1680).

charge — thro. ffavour, not merit I happened to be placed the second of the Class Mr Symes [1] being the first. The winter of the first year I liv^{d} at Taunton under the Tuition of y^{e} Rev^{d} Mr Adams [2] now Minister at New Lond^{n} The other parts of that year I liv^{d} at y^{e} College. The second winter I kept school for three months for y^{e} Town of Plymouth in my fathers house & under his inspection — The third year I continued at Colledge; in the fall whereof, William Maxwell & John Eyre [3] both belonging to y^{e} Colledge scating on fresh pond Nov. 30, 1696 [were drowned] To the first of w^{ch} I was a bearer: those that had y^{e} ordering of that affair, appointing y^{e} two first of Sen^{r} Class to be his bearers — Those are the two scholars referred to in my Father's & Mother's letter; [4] on occasion of whose sudden deaths, my Uncle Mather preacht at Cambridge, an awful sermon on Eccles. 9. 12. Man knoweth not his time; & inasmuch as y^{e} case is certainly so, surely time ought carefully to be redeemed; & yet how apt is man, even to set his invention upon the stretch to find out methods to pass it away; & such methods too as have no vertue in them & can scarce be justified but by the numbers that pursue the same — This year I learnt (among other arts) to smoke it, but might have improved my time much better, for so much time is consumed in sleeping & eating & other necessary diversions of life,

[1] Rev. Thomas Symmes (H. C. 1698).

[2] Rev. Eliphalet Adams (H. C. 1694).

[3] See Sewall's Diary, i. 439. In my list of temporary students (our Publications, xvii. 275, 282), I assigned Eyre and Maxwell conjecturally to the class of 1699. From what Josiah Cotton says, it is a fair guess that Eyre was of the class of 1698. President Mather's sermon, referred to by Josiah Cotton, was entitled "A Discourse Concerning the Uncertainty of the Times of Men, . . . Preached at Cambridge . . . Decemb. 6. 1696. On Occasion of the Sudden Death of Two Scholar belonging to Harvard Colledge," Boston, 1697. Maxwell was probably the only Harvard student who had two sermons preached on him on two continents. For in addition to Mather's sermon, "J. G." published at London in 1697 "A Funeral Sermon Preached at Newport-Pagnell, April 11. 1697. On the Occasion of the Sudden Death of William Maxwell, A Pious and Hopeful Young Scholar, belonging to Harvard-Colledge, in Cambridge, New-England." Newport Pagnell is in Buckinghamshire. For my knowledge of this sermon, I am indebted to the late Mr. Frederick L. Gay, who gave his copy to the Harvard College Library, where it is catalogued under "G., J." The author was the Rev. John Gibbs, who was vicar of Newport Pagnell in 1647 or 1655, was ejected about 1660, later became an independent minister, and died June 16, 1699, in his seventy-second year: see J. Staines, History of Newport Pagnell (1842), pp. 97–102, 104–105, 108–112, 126–129, 137, 192; F. W. Bull, History of Newport Pagnell (1900), pp. 5, 110, 120, 134, 138, 140–141, 150, 283; S. Palmer, Nonconformist's Memorial (1803), i. 308. He was in some way related to the Maxwells.

[4] In an earlier portion of the Diary. Increase Mather's first wife was Mary (or Maria) Cotton, a sister of Josiah Cotton's father.

that we have no need to continue those that are altogether needless. This is a practice I should not have run readily into at home, for my Father & Mother never inclined to it, but example abroad brought me into it. Howsoever our Class did some penance about this time for their faults being obliged to recite at five o'clock in y^e^ winter mornings y^t^ Mr Leverett might seasonably attend y^e^ General Court at Boston being Representative for y^e^ town of Cambridge. In the winter of the fourth year I dwelt & studied at home, it being customary for many of the scholars to draw off in y^e^ winter tho. perhaps in the general not advantageous. Sometime this year Mr. Leverett removed from Colledge, but tarried so long with us, that our class were put under no other tutor.

Mr. Brattle also left the Colledge about this time. These two had been Fellows & Tutors at y^e^ Colledge many years & therein done very good service, being some years the Chief Rulers there, & the Moderators at the Commencements,[1] when President Mather was in England — And if I may allow myself a small digression or excursion now & then, I would here insert a remark made on these two gentlemen in conjunction with D^r^ Oliver[2] another of y^e^ same class, namely, That they were born in the same Town viz Boston, Educated at the same school,[3] admitted in y^e^ College ye same year, took their degrees together, all settled in Cambridge & as it were in y^e^ same street; one a Professor of y^e^ Law, the other of Divinity, the third of Physick; and all eminent in their kind; which brings to mind y^e^ antient controversy

> "Law, Physick & Divinitie,
> Were at a loss which of the three
> Should have superioritie"

which I shall not take upon me here to determine tho I think my Cousin Cotton has done it in his Letter Pa. 8.[4]

July 6^th^ 1698 I took my first Degree under the moderating of President Mather and disputed on that question *an Cometos sunt meteora,* which Mr Hubbard[5] of our class held negatively — After y^e^ Commencement I remov^d^ from Cambridge to Plymo. & took a journey to Bristoll, which being over I set out for Salisbury, Exeter, Marblehead &c. and in the fall waited upon my father at Boston till his sailing to Carolina, being the last of his children that saw him.

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[1] Cf. our Publications, xviii. 373.
[2] James Oliver (H. C. 1680).
[3] Boston Public Latin School.
[4] Rev. John Cotton (H. C. 1678).
[5] Nathaniel Hubbard (H. C. 1698).

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1925

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Saturday, November 21, 1925, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death at New Haven, Connecticut, on May 26, 1925, of GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, a Corresponding Member.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented on behalf of the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

There is a word of command in the British Navy which comes to mind in connection with the life of many of our institutions. The word is "carry on." It means, of course, keep on with your work, continue what you are doing.

Some of our institutions are like lighthouses. They do not change. They neither grow nor dwindle. They simply carry on. And also, like the lighthouse, their mere carrying on is of undeniable value to life in general.

The Colonial Society is that kind of institution. It carries on. Its career is uneventful. Five stated meetings are held each year, at which communications of genuine worth are presented. To say that these meetings are well attended would be to strain the truth. On each November twenty-first comes the dinner, when, like hardy annuals, a large proportion of members exercise their prerogative of membership and blossom into actuality. These things are men-

tioned in no spirit of criticism. Your Council feels that even on these terms the Colonial Society justifies itself. It carries on. In an age of haste and competition there is a certain refreshment in belonging to a society that has no axe to grind, that presents no exactions, makes no demands, insists on no conditions, but that does its work, and runs itself so far as a society can, and takes for granted the loyalty and interest of its members.

Mrs. Oliver Cromwell used to torment her husband by asking him if he loved her. One day she received a curt reply: "Thou art dearer to me than aught else on earth. Let that suffice." If you wish, the Colonial Society is quite willing to "let that suffice." If on the other hand you prefer to see a change in the even tenor of our way, an acceleration in our gait, there is absolutely nothing to prevent. It lies entirely with you.

The Editor reports that three volumes are now going through the press. The Introduction to the Harvard College Records has been completed, and is cast, the index will shortly be in the hands of the printers, and Volumes XV and XVI may be expected in the spring. Volume XXVI contains the current transactions of the Society and has advanced to page 210.

In April, Mrs. Gilman Prichard, better known to some of us perhaps as Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay, gave the Society the sum of $2000 to be used for printing the Harvard College Records. Apropos the following resolutions were adopted:

That the members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts desire to express their gratitude to Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay for her generous gift of $2000 towards the cost of publishing the Records of Harvard College — a project in which their late associate, Frederick Lewis Gay, felt a lively interest and to which he made liberal contribution.

That the Records, when issued, bear upon the title-page an appropriate inscription to the effect that they are published by the Society as a memorial to Mr. Gay.

That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society and that a copy be sent to Mrs. Gay.

Owing to his removal from the Commonwealth the resident membership of Frederick Jackson Turner was automatically terminated.

During the year there have been two elections:
Resident Member:

Charles Sprague Sargent;

Corresponding Member:

Frederick Jackson Turner.

Three of our members have died:

Arthur Lord, one of the most prominent of the Harvard alumni, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and for forty years active in many forms of public service in Plymouth and Boston and Massachusetts.

He had the moral instinct of the true historian, which looks forward with hope as well as backward with pride. His love of the past was quickened by the purpose to build the good of the past into a foundation for a better future. He was trusted and respected by all. Those whom he admitted to his friendship found that he gave and commanded the deepest and truest affection.

John Singer Sargent, painter, whose canvases have permanently enriched the culture of both the Old and the New World. He saw the Divine in terms of beauty, and gave himself to the creation of beauty with that mysterious happiness, that passionate absorption, that generosity of self-devotion that always accompany true genius.

George Burton Adams, a scholar by temperament and training. He brought to the study of history an enthusiasm that was contagious, and found in it a romance that amply repaid his labor. He was a model to all would-be historians, in that he never depicted a period without first understanding its context and deeper significance; and never criticized an episode without that sympathy which can alone make criticism valuable.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 16, 1925.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, November 16, 1924, Principal cash		$774.97	
Income cash		645.58	$1,420.55
Receipts of Principal:			
Mortgages, discharged	$7,250.00		
Frederick Lewis Gay Memorial Fund	2,000.00		
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings account	86.43		
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account	1.26		
Horace Everett Ware Fund, Income added to Principal	226.63		
Subscriptions to Editor's Salary Fund	450.00		
Contributions	5.00		
Admission Fees	10.00		
Northwestern Bell Telephone Co. $5,000 7% Bonds, called at 107½	5,375.00		
Income transferred to Principal	535.00		
Total receipts of Principal		$15,939.32	
Receipts of Income:			
Interest	$7,434.98		
Annual Assessments	600.00		
Sales of the Society's Publications	162.30		
Sale of paper	43.47		
Total receipts of Income		8,240.75	24,180.07
Total			$25,600.62

DISBURSEMENTS

Disbursements of Principal:			
$4,500 England, Walton Company, Inc., First Mortgage 6% Bonds, due 1942	$4,432.50		
2,000 Kingdom of Belgium, 6% Sinking Fund Extension Loan, due 1955	1,750.00		
3,000 New River Company, First Mortgage 5% Bonds, due 1934	2,782.50		
4,000 United States Cold Storage Company, First Mortgage 6% Bonds, due 1945	4,000.00		
Editor's salary, paid from Salary Fund	1,000.00		
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings account, added to Principal	86.43		
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account, added to Principal	1.26		
Total disbursements of Principal		$14,052.69	

Disbursements of Income:			
University Press	$1,272.99		
A. W. Elson & Company	90.00		
Folsom Engraving Company	9.80		
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	54.00		
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	20.00		
Stewart, Watts & Bollong, accounting services	250.00		
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, lights, and janitor service	20.00		
State Street Trust Company, interest on loan	182.50		
Interest accrued on bonds purchased	200.51		
Annual dinner	492.50		
Clerk hire	100.00		
Thomas S. Longridge, insurance	249.00		
Mary H. Rollins, Index to Volume 15	42.97		
Warren H. Manning Company Offices, Inc., work pertaining to Volume 15	24.04		
Nina E. Browne, Consolidated Index	100.00		
Miscellaneous	62.20		
Interest on Horace E. Ware Fund added to Principal	226.63		
Amount of Income transferred to Principal	535.00	3,932.14	
			$17,984.83
Balance, November 16, 1925, Principal cash		$2,661.60	
Income cash		4,954.19	7,615.79
Total			$25,600.62

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$ 20,300.00	in first mortgages payable in gold coin on improved property in Greater Boston
102,342.50	in bonds elsewhere described in this report having a face value of $112,500.00
29.43	on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
1,985.88	on deposit in the Warren Institution for Savings
$124,657.81	

The investments of the Society yield an average annual income of approximately 6.02%.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of November 16, 1925, is hereto annexed and made a part of this report.

William C. Endicott
Treasurer

Boston, 16 November, 1925

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash, Principal		$2,661.60	
Income		4,954.19	$7,615.79
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund			3,193.94
Provident Institution for Savings			29.43
Warren Institution for Savings			1,985.88
Mortgages			20,300.00
Bonds:			
$5,000	Cedars Rapids Manufacturing & Power Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund Gold 5's, due 1953	$4,450.00	
5,000	Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding Gold 5's, due 1940	3,762.50	
5,000	Cleveland Union Terminal Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund Gold 5½'s, Series A, due 1972	4,980.00	
5,000	Detroit Edison Company, First and Refunding Mortgage Gold 5's, Series A, due 1940	4,397.50	
5,000	Detroit Edison Company, First Mortgage Refunding 6's, Series B, due 1940	4,400.00	
4,500	England, Walton & Company, Inc., First Mortgage Sinking Fund Gold 6's, due 1942	4,432.50	
2,000	Kingdom of Belgium, First 6's Sinking Fund Extension Loan, due 1955	1,750.00	
5,000	Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company, First Mortgage Refunding 6's, Series A, due 1946	5,000.00	
5,000	New England Telephone & Telegraph Company, First Mortgage Gold 5's, Series A, due 1952	4,875.00	
12,000	New River Company, First Mortgage and Collateral Trust 5's, due 1934	11,130.00	
5,000	New York Edison Company, First Lien and Refunding Mortgage Gold 6½'s, Series A, due 1941	5,000.00	
5,000	Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, First and Refunding Mortgage 4's, Series A, due 1961	4,105.00	
5,000	Pennsylvania Railroad, Equipment Trust of 1920 6's, due 1935	5,000.00	
5,000	Philadelphia Company, First Refunding and Collateral Trust Mortgage 6's, Series A, due 1944	4,350.00	

5,000	Union Pacific Railroad, Series A, Equipment Trust 7's, due 1932	$5,000.00	
5,000	United Electric Securities Company, Collateral Trust Sinking Fund 5's, due 1935–1942	3,750.00	
4,000	United States Cold Storage Company, First Mortgage Real Estate, Chicago, Illinois, Gold 6's, due 1945	4,000.00	
20,000	Western Telephone & Telegraph Company, Collateral Trust Gold 5's, due 1932	16,960.00	
5,000	Wickwire-Spencer Steel Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund Prior Lien Collateral and Refunding Gold 7's, due 1935	5,000.00	$102,342.50
$112,500			$135,467.54

CREDITS

State Street Trust Company		$4,000.00
Income		4,954.19
Funds:		
Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00	
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal. Income only to be used for Current Expenses	22,279.68	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restrictions as to use	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, established in 1904. Made up of annual subscriptions from certain members for the purpose specified	50.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00	

Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used . . .	$2,000.00	
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, established in 1916 by a gift of $500 from him. Increased under his will by sundry installments of cash since 1919. To be accumulated and used for Massachusetts Bay Colony monument or other memorial	4,003.85	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for publications	30,000.00	
Henry Herbert Edes Bequest, established in 1923 under his will. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $3,000, when it shall be called the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	1,985.88	
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund, established in 1923 by subscriptions	3,193.94	
Frederick Lewis Gay Memorial Fund, established in 1925 by a gift from his widow. Permanent name and purpose of fund to be decided upon later . .	2,000.00	$126,513.35
		$135,467.54

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 16 November, 1925, have attended to their duty, and report that they find the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors.

FRANK B. BEMIS
STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS
Auditing Committee

BOSTON, 21 November, 1925

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate

officers for the ensuing year, the following list was presented; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

VICE-PRESIDENTS

ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
GEORGE FOOT MOORE

RECORDING SECRETARY

ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

REGISTRAR

ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

ALBERT MATTHEWS

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

The members of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, learning with regret that it is the purpose of FRED NORRIS ROBINSON to retire from the presidency, wish to put on record their deep sense of his devotion to the best interests of the Society, and their appreciation of the personal and intellectual qualities that have made his administration noteworthy.

To direct the fortunes of any association of New Englanders for nine years without clash or friction may well be reckoned no inconsiderable achievement. To our president, however, this has been merely the natural expression of a firm and equable temperament, guided by a

wise and judicial mind, by a keen sense of whatever is excellent in scholarly endeavor, by an instinctive — or at all events an habitual — understanding of human nature, and by a sympathetic interest in its varied and sometimes incalculable manifestations.

As we look back on his long term of faithful service, we congratulate ourselves on our far-sightedness in electing this admirable scholar and skilful administrator as our president, and on our good fortune in persuading him to remain so long at the helm. He leaves to his successor a prosperous society, working together in full harmony and with a clear and definite idea of its function in the republic of letters. We look back with gratitude, and we face the future with hope and confidence.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Messrs. Ingersoll Bowditch, Henry Rushton Fairclough, Allen French, Harry Manley Goodwin, Charles Burton Gulick, Arthur Edwin Kennelly, William John Lawrence, and Alfred North Whitehead. Ex-President Robinson presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1925

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 17, 1925, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President announced that by vote of the Council he had been empowered to appoint delegates from the Society to the annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in Ann Arbor this month in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association, and that these delegates would be appointed in due course.

In response to an invitation from the Council, Mr. Henry Crocker Kittredge, of Concord, New Hampshire, was present, and read a paper on "The Merchant Marine of Cape Cod," in which he discussed the marine activities of the Cape, aside from fishing and whaling, with special reference to the Cape Cod packets, and to the achievements of certain Cape Cod captains in command of clipper ships.

Mr. Harold Murdock read the following letter, written from Boston, July 27, 1775, by H. F. Gardner, a British officer then in Boston, to John Radcliffe, of Hitchin Priory, Hertfordshire, England.

Boston Wednesday July 27th 1775.

DEAR RADCLIFFE [1]

I have wrote twice to you since my arrival in America — my first Letter was dated the 14th June which I sent by a vessel bound to Bristol, the other by the return of the Cerberus Frigate, and dated the 25th dº.

Nothing material has happened about this place since General Howes expedition to Charles Town, where he remains with a Corps of abt 2000 men, except that the last embarkation from Ireland viz *22d 40th" 44th"* and *45th"* Regiments desined [designed?, destined?] for New York, have been ordered by General Gage into Boston — the last of their Transports arrived here last week and were above ten Weeks on their passage — the men are all in tollerable health

General Burgoyne has received a Long Letter from General Lee, Copys of Which I make no doubt have been seen in England long before youll receive this Letter. — however for yourself & friends amusement I have here inclosed it together with General Burgoynes Answer — which is very highly talked of by Well affected people on this side of the Atlantic, and I hope will do him as mush [much] Credit on Yours. The two Letters I had for Genl Lee — have sent to him,[2] and wish they may con-

[1] John Radcliffe of Hitchin Priory, Hertfordshire, who represented St. Albans borough from 1768 to 1783. In 1768 he married Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle. He died December 21, 1783. This identification is based on the fact that the text of the letter makes it clear that the Radcliffe addressed was a "Parliament Gentleman" and in 1775 John Radcliffe was the only Radcliffe in Parliament. See Gentleman's Magazine (1783), liii. 1066, and R. Beatson, Chronological Register of Both Houses of Parliament (1807).

The writer of the letter was doubtless Harry Farrington Gardner, Captain Lieutenant in the 16th Light Dragoons (Army Lists, 1775–1777). Burgoyne was colonel of this regiment. Gardner came out with him as his Aide-de-camp (note 2 below). After Burgoyne's return to England in the fall of 1775, certain of his affairs were left in Gardner's hands, for, in Howe's Orderly Book, p. 106, there is an entry under the date of October 7, 1775, which reads, "Whereas the House of Mr Quirney in South Street late the Quarters of Major General Burgoyne has been broke open and many Valuable Effects taken away, any person who will give Information so that the Offenders may be Apprehended & brought to Condign Punishments, shall receive Five Guineas Reward by applying to Capt. Gardner."

[2] Burgoyne wrote to Lee, July 8, 1775, "Among other supporters of British rights against American claims, I will not speak positively, but I firmly believe, I may name the man of whose integrity you have the highest opinion, and whose friendship is nearest your heart — I mean Lord Thanet, from whom my Aid de Camp has a letter for you, and also one from Sir Charles Davers." Almon's Remembrancer, 1775, p. 139. In his answer to this letter Lee writes, "He begs General Burgoyne will send the letters which his Aid de Camp has for him. If Gardiner is his Aid de Camp, he desires his love to him" (id., p. 140).

tain some good Advice, tho' I'm afraid 'tis too late considering the active part that he has taken in public affairs, to be a means of making any Alterations in his Conduct. The place where Lee dates his last Letter from viz Cambridge is about three miles from Boston, and where he commands a part of the Rebel Army. He has often been seen by many of us, but not wihin [within] the reach of a Musket I can promise you when that happens — he will be particularly noticed, as there is not a Soldier or Officer in the Garrison, and especially his old Regiment (44th) but woud be happy to get a Shot at Him.

The Rebels (and almost in a continu'd Camp) surround us — And I assure you are very strongly Intrenched besides having Redoubts on all the heights which command Roads &c with good ditches they are well friezed, and most of 'em have Cannon in them — However every Manauvre of theirs, seems to be upon the defensive.

In this situation you will agree with me that it woud be imprudent to move out in the teeth of them, as our Loss must inevitably be greater than our little Army can at present afford — & we must not now run Risks — besides we have not above 114 horses for all our Artillery, and if we make expeditions which I think will be necessary, and in which Case the Army will be divided, 114 horses will not serve more than 12 or 14 pieces of Cannon.

We are very much in want of forage. What in heavens, were some folks about all the last Year, when a very plentiful & Cheap Country with all sorts of Cattle and forage ('till the affair of the nineteenth of April last) was open to them, I suppose they were afraid of laying up Magazines openly — tho' at the very same time the Heads of these Rebels were actually drilling their men on Boston Common, and in the face of our Encampment; Nay they carried their impudence so far as to exercise them by Candle Light in their public Halls &c.

I pity the three Generals viz Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne, who (if I've any discernment are not in that Active Capacity they woud wish & which nature intended 'em for. Men possessed of such military Talents shoud not be controll'd

The Army, I will assure you are determin'^{d} to a man to Assist the Cause — we have no desertions which is the strongest proof I can give you of their Attachment — And if you Parliament Gentlemen do not tamely submit I am persuaded (as I've before mentioned) a large body of Russian[s][1] early next year, and have proper people to negociate with

[1] "On the same day, viz^{t}, the 5th of September 1775, Lord Dartmouth, in a secret Dispatch, acquaints General Howe with the application made to the Empress of Russia for a Body of Infantry to serve in North America, that in conse-

the Canadians who by the bye the Yankeys are more afraid of than the Devil, One well conducted campaign woud finish the Dispute — and tis too Obvious notwithstanding all their Damned Pamplets [pamphlets] &c. upon the subject that they do not wish to reconcile matter[s] till absolutely forced. We have yet many many friends left about N: York, who are Obliged to bear Arms amongst the Rebels, for want of a proper force to protect them. I'm surprised the Army is not there; as its certainly a properer place to begin the Campaign from, than Boston.

We have taken all the precaution we can in this place to prevent a surprise — & if we remain here the Winter, we have nothing to dread but being starved, either for the want of Fewel or salt pork. I have often wished for a good flock of the Priory Sheep.[1]

Pray my Respects to Lady Frances and all acquaintances, particularly to my friend Sir Charles, & Family [2] — I must intreat you to write to me, — English news, woud be as acceptable as fresh Provisions — you know I love good eating [(] aye and drinking) you may judge how we live when I yesterday with the greatest difficulty, bought four old fowls for £1" 11" 6 —

This is the time of year for fluxes, & the Army for want of fresh meat are very weak — besides upon exact lists after the affair of 17th June no less than 1049 men & Officers were killed and wounded.[3]

Boston is the only port in America shut up whereas, it is (in the present situation) the only port that shoud be open, I wish you'd think of this, we shoud then stand a chance of having provision brough[t] to us — Send your Letter to Lady Charlotte Burgoyne if you favor me with

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quence of a favorable answer from that Court the Minister was Instructed to agree for a Corps of 20,000, that the greatest part would be sent to Quebec early in the Spring, and it was hoped that we should have an equal number of British Troops in North America in the next year. . . . On the 27 Oct° 1775, Lord Dartmouth acquaints General Howe with the Arrangements made for Recruiting the different Corps in America, and for the augmentation of each Corps, & signifies to him His Majesty's Pleasure with regard to the Officers to be sent to England for raising those Recruits, and the new Levies; and his Lordship, in that Letter, acquaints him that the fair Prospect we had of succeeding in our Treaty with Russia for a Body of Infantry was, at best, but doubtfull" (Précis of correspondence in Howe's Orderly Book, pp. 301–302). Evidently Gardner had heard of the plan to secure Russian troops very early, probably from Burgoyne.

[1] A reference to Radcliffe's residence at Hitchin Priory.

[2] Lady Frances was Radcliffe's wife. Sir Charles may have been Sir Charles Davers. See p. 292 notes 1 and 2, above.

[3] Gage's report to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated June 25, 1775, summarizes the loss as 1054.

one, & beg She will inclose it in her first packet for the Gen[l]. I'm afraid you'll scarce read this Sheet, as I'm fearful of being too Late for the vessel

Adieu and beleive me to be
Dear Radcliffe your sincere Friend
And Obliged humble Servant
H. ff. GARDNER.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke as follows:

Three years ago, in a footnote to Ephraim Eliot's sketch of Dr. Amos Windship of the Harvard class of 1771, I called attention to the statement in the Faculty Records that Windship's place of residence at entrance was given as "Springf. Suff." I interpreted that to mean Springfield, Suffolk County; and as Windship had been living in Sherborn the year before his entrance, it occurred to me that perhaps some part of Sherborn had at one time been locally known as Springfield. Mr. William B. H. Dowse, however, told me that, so far as he knew, such had not been the case; and so I was obliged to confess that "precisely what town is meant by 'Springf. Suff.' as the place of residence is uncertain." [1] A few days ago I stumbled on the explanation of what had puzzled me, and for the benefit of some future investigator put it on record. In 1738 the Rev. Samuel Dexter of Dedham published his "Century Sermon," [2] of which a second edition appeared in 1796. In this edition a "Supplement" of three pages was added, where we read: "A FOURTH precinct was incorporated, in the westerly part of the town of Dedham, November 18th 1748; and commonly known by the name of *Springfield.*" [3] In 1784 this was established as the district of Dover, and in 1836 as the town of Dover.[4] Dover and Sherborn adjoin one another.

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[1] Our Publications, xxv. 150 note 1.

[2] The half-title reads: "Mr. Dexter's Century Sermon, on the Publick Thanksgiving November 23. 1738." The title-page begins "Our Fathers God, the Hope of Posterity."

[3] P. 51. Cf. Massachusetts Province Laws, xiv. 186.

[4] "It was for many years a part of Dedham, being called the Fourth, or Springfield, Parish" (F. Smith, History of Dover, 1897, p. 2). It will be remembered that the present Norfolk County was incorporated in 1793 from the county of Suffolk.

JANUARY MEETING, 1926

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, January 28, 1926, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. GEORGE P. ANDERSON spoke on William Molineux (1717–1774), a militant Boston Patriot, giving a biographical account of him and pointing out his connection with the political activities of the time.[1]

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH then read:

A LETTER RELATING TO THE PUBLICATION OF COTTON MATHER'S MAGNALIA

Every reader of Cotton Mather's diary knows how deep and constant was his concern for the fate of the precious manuscript of the Magnalia. From the summer of 1700 when he sent it to England until the autumn of 1702 when he first saw the great folio in actual print, its welfare was a matter of anxiety which prayers and vigils controlled, perhaps, but could not banish. Forgetting how momentous was, for him, the outcome of an undertaking which both in bulk and in significance overtopped all the other publications of his busy life, the modern reader is probably disposed to wish that he had more sparingly recorded his concern for the manuscript.

However that may be, we are certainly not too fully informed about the vicissitudes of the book after it reached London. Hence the importance of a letter — apparently unpublished — which the

[1] Mr. Anderson's paper will be printed in the Transactions of a future meeting.

Reverend John Quick wrote to Cotton Mather from London on March 19, 1702.[1]

Before turning to the letter it will perhaps be worth while to recapitulate the story as we get it from Cotton Mather himself.

Even before the book was wholly written, Mather had announced the scheme of it in his Johannes in Eremo (1695).[2] Some two years later, when the work was approaching completion, the Diary[3] records his pleasure at receiving a book which not only quotes from his writings and, though written by a conformist, much magnifies the names and lives of nonconformists, but also advertises the Magnalia. The book is, A Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences, . . . Which have Hapned in this Present Age. . . . London: John Dunton. . . . MDCXCVII., a folio written by William Turner (1653–1701). At the end are advertised "*Books now in the Press, and designed for it. Printed for* John Dunton." Among these is the Magnalia, which is announced as follows: "*The Church-History of New England,* is now almost finished, including the Lives of the most eminent *Divines* of that Country from the first planting of it, down to this present Year, 1696. 'Tis written by Mr. *Cotton Mather,* Pastor of a Church in *Boston,* from whom I shall receive the *Manuscript Copy* as soon as compleated;[4] and being a large Work, 'twill be Printed in *Folio,* by way of Subscription."

Thus, even before the manuscript of the Magnalia was sent to London, it had been advertised not less than twice, and at least one London publisher — if not a very trustworthy one — awaited it.

From 1700 on the entries become more frequent; hence it will be convenient to omit those which merely record Mather's anxiety and to abstract the others, chronologically, with the reference to the Diary in each case.

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[1] This letter is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Librarian of which has kindly allowed it to be printed.

[2] J. L. Sibley, Harvard Graduates, iii. 61, No. 52.

[3] January 7, 1698 (i. 246–247).

[4] What reason Dunton had to expect to publish the Magnalia we do not know: he was quite capable of making the statement without any encouragement from the author. Note that in his Letters from New England, ed. Whitmore, p. 75, he says of Cotton Mather: "He has very lately finish'd the Church-History of New-England, which I'm going to print."

June 8, 1700: Mather sends the Magnalia, with "Directions about the publishing of it," to England (i. 353).

December 12, 1700: Receives "Letters from *England*, full of Encouragement, concerning the hopeful Circumstances" of the Magnalia (i. 375).

May 10, 1701: Speaks of "my *Church-History*, now in *London*" (i. 399).

June 13, 1701: Although his "*Church History*, is a bulky thing, of about 250 sheets," which "will cost about 600 *lb*" to publish, although "The Booksellers in *London* are cold about it" and "The Proposals for *Subscriptions*, are of an uncertain and a tedious Event," nevertheless "behold, what my Friend Mr. *Bromfield*, writes me from *London*, March 28, 1701: 'There is one Mr. *Robert Hackshaw*, a very serious and Godly man, who proposes to print the *Ecclesiastical History of N. E.* . . . AT HIS OWN CHARGE. . . . He declared He did it not with any Expectation of Gain to himself, but for the Glory of God'" [1] (i. 400).

September 27, 1701: The publication of the Magnalia is "unhappily clog'd by some Dispositions of the Gentleman, to whom I first sent it" (i. 404).

February 10, 1702: The Magnalia "runs great Hazards of Miscarrying" (i. 411).

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[1] For Hackshaw see note 4 on page 301, *post*. The Bromfield referred to seems to be Edward Bromfield of Boston, whom Sewall calls a merchant "well known here and in England" (6 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, i. 224). He was born in England in 1649, came to New England in 1675, was a member of the "South Church," and died in 1734. There is an extended notice of him in the New England Weekly Journal for June 10, 1734. More than once he was Mather's literary patron, as appears from the references to him in Mather's Diary, *passim*. Mather's Memoria Wilsoniana, 1695, was dedicated to him, and the address to him makes it plain that the book was published at his expense. Sewall records that "Capt. Mason sailed June 13th, and Capt. Foster June 14th, 1700. At 6 *mane*, Mr. Bromfield went off from Scarlet's Wharf. Mr. Elm Hutchinson and I accompanied him thither. I went and staid at his house till he was ready to goe." (6 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, i. 239.) Probably, then, Bromfield went to England in June, 1700. That he was back in Boston in 1703 is shown by Sewall's Diary, ii. 72. The date when Mather records the sending of the Magnalia to England and the date of Bromfield's sailing are so close as to make it possible to wonder whether Bromfield was not trusted to carry the precious manuscript. Entry for June 8, 1700, in text above.

May 1, 1702: Receives important news: "My *Church-History* has been in extreme Hazard of Miscarrying. The Delay, given by the nice Hummours [*sic*] of my Friend [1] in whose Hands it was left, unto the kind Offers and Motions of the Gentleman, that would have published it a Year ago,[2] exposed it unto the Hazard of never being published at all. God continued the Opportunities and Inclinations of that Gentleman to go on with the Undertaking. When they began to fail, God stirr'd up a very eminent Bookseller,[3] to come in, with obliging Tenders of his Assistance. Letters to Advise me of this, were dated as long ago as the twentieth of last *November*, . . . At last, on this Day, after so long a Delay, comes in the Ship that had these Letters; which also tell me, that they hoped the Work would be finished, by the Month of *March*, which is now past" (i. 427).

Anyone who has tried to launch a book into an indifferent world, even in these days of cables and quick mails, will hardly fail to realize some of Cotton Mather's distress at the delayed appearance of the work which, we must always remember, was not only one of the beloved children of its author's busy brain but also — as he verily believed — an important piece of the Lord's business.

Meanwhile what was going on in London? It has already appeared that as early as March, 1701, Robert Hackshaw had made an offer, that someone — perhaps Bromfield — had endangered the enterprise by asking for terms too unfavorable to the booksellers, and that somehow Thomas Parkhurst had at last taken over the work. But the relation of Parkhurst, Hackshaw, and Bromfield to each other and to the business in hand is far from clear.

To make it somewhat clearer we shall now present Quick's letter, after having given a brief account of his life.

John Quick (1636–1706) was a Devonshire man, born at Plymouth; an Oxford graduate, with Puritan inclinations, fostered at Exeter, which under the severe but able leadership of Conant was then a

[1] Was this Bromfield, or Quick, or someone else?
[2] Presumably Hackshaw.
[3] Presumably Parkhurst.

large, strong college. He graduated B.A. in 1657. Quick held several livings in Devonshire, did not conform at the Restoration, and consequently was arrested and imprisoned more than once. Settling in London, he became the head of a congregation in Bartholomew Close, Smithfield. There he died in 1706, known as a serious scholar and preacher.

Besides the usual minor publications of a Puritan minister of the period, Quick wrote two much larger works. His Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, in two folio volumes, was published at London in 1692 by T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson.[1] As this work amply shows, Quick was profoundly interested in the welfare of the Protestant churches in France, and laborious in gathering the documents to illustrate their history. His other large work never got into print. This was another great collection, but this time of biographies rather than documents: his Icones Sacrae is said to contain the biographies of seventy divines, French and English.[2] Calamy acknowledges his debt to it, and — as Quick's letter to Cotton Mather will presently show — a sketch of John Flavell had been made from it by a process of abridgment so violent as greatly to distress the author. Otherwise the work seems to have remained unused. It is now — three folio volumes — in Dr. Williams's Library, London.[3]

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[1] Arber, Term Catalogues, ii. 400. One of the Harvard Library copies has the following autograph inscription: "For my very Honoured Friend Elisha Cook D^{r} of Physick & one of y^{e} Councill of New England at his House in Boston, from y^{e} Publisher his very much obliged Friend & servant. John Quick. London, y^{e} 6th. 24. 94." One would like to know more about Quick's relations with Cooke, of whom — see the index to his Diary — Cotton Mather did not approve.

[2] See the sketch by Alexander Gordon in the Dictionary of National Biography, and in his Freedom after Ejection, p. 337; also the authorities mentioned at the end of these two sketches, and J. G. White's Churches and Chapels of Old London.

[3] In a page headed "Advertisements" in Quick's Serious Inquiry . . . Whether a Man may Lawfully Marry his Deceased Wife's Sister, London, 1703, it is said: "Whereas there was about Three Years since Published by Mr. *Quick*, Proposals for the Printing his *Icones Sacræ*, being the Lives of Seventy Eminent Divines . . . the Reason of it's not Publication is this, the very next Week after the Death of his most noble Patron, who would have Printed his Works at his own Expences, it pleased God to visit Mr. *Quick* with those cruel Torturors of Scholars the Stone and Gout . . . under which he has groan'd Night and Day for above these Three Years time, so that till the Lord shall please to restore him to his former Health, that he may be able to get in Subscriptions, or to raise up for him some other munificent *Mecænas*, the Publication is suspended."

Finally, let it be noted that in forwarding the publication of Cotton Mather's book, John Quick was not only doing a service for a fellow Puritan whose father had preached in Quick's own pulpit [1] at Bartholomew Close, but was returning in kind a favor which he had but two years earlier received from the younger Mather. For in 1700, Cotton Mather records [2] that to one of his own works which was then being published he did "adjoin a savoury little Discourse, of Mr. *Quick*, a Reverend *Presbyterian* in *London*, about *A Claim to the Sacrament*, as well to confute our pretended *Presbyterians*, as to promote practical Godliness."

And now at last we come to the letter:

Reverend S^r^

Octob^r^ the 10. at Euening in y^e^ yeare of our Lord 1701 — I received this order (the Originall of w^ch^ I communicated as I haue also of y^e^ following Receipts to your worthy Brother m^r^ Sam.[3] the last week) from m^r^ Hackshaws man "m^r^ John Quick, Reverend S^r^, Herewith I "send you m^r^ Cotton mather his Letter to your self, & doe desire that "according to his Order you will be pleased to deliver y^e^ Copy of his "Treatise called magnalia christi Americana to this Bearer, w^o^ will giue "you my Receipt for it, & thereby you will obliege, S^r^, your friend & "seruant R. Hackshaw.[4]

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[1] K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather, p. 198.

[2] Diary, i. 364.

[3] Samuel Mather, H.C. 1690, son of Increase Mather and brother of Cotton. For him see Mr. T. J. Holmes's paper, pp. 312–322, *post*.

[4] Excepting what appears in the letter I have found almost nothing about Robert Hackshaw, merchant, of London. Bromfield's letter of March 28, 1701 (Diary, i. 400), speaks of him as "a very serious and Godly man." Cotton Mather (id., i. 550) includes in his list of his European correspondents in 1706 "Mr. Robert Hackshaw, Merchant, at Hogsdon [Hoxton], a suburb of London. A Robert Hackshaw was a cousin of Thomas Prince of Boston, and there are two letters from him to Prince in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated August 23, 1723, and August 1, 1726. In the first of these he says his family consists of a wife, son, and daughter, and speaks of his "Mother Buckle" as still alive, of his sister Robinson as dead, and of a brother Buckle. He says his own father died in October, 1722. Was the father Mather's Robert Hackshaw? The will of Robert Hackshaw, merchant of London, was proved in 1738. Presumably this was the son. See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlii. 401; Memorial History of Boston, ii. 221 note, and W. H. Whitmore, Catalogue of the Prince Library (Wiggin and Lunt edition). In Hoxton, where Robert Hackshaw lived in 1706, there lived also the Rev. Edmund Calamy, and one or two other eminent nonconformist divines, and there was there "a noted

Haueing perused this script, I told m^r^ Hackshaws serv^t^, "Friend, I "dont know you, I shall not deliver y^e^ mscr. to any but into your master's "own hands, & I desire He would come in person & receiue it.

The next day about 5. in y^e^ afternoon m^r^ Hackshaw came to my hou[se] & demanding your mnscr. History of me, I tendred him this Acquittance to be signed by him for my discharge.

"London, Octob^r^ 11, 1701. I doe acknowledg to haue received of m^r^ "John Quick min^r^ of y^e^ Gospell by order of y^e^ R. m^r^ Cotton mather "Pastor of y^e^ Nor[th] Church in Boston of New England y^e^ manuscript "Copy of his magnalia christi Americana in seven Books, The wch manu- "script I promise to pu[t] into y^e^ presse very speedily, & that m^r^ Quick "shall haue y^e^ correcting of y^e^ sheets, as they are wrought off from y^e^ "presse, that so it may not be prejudiced through y^e^ negligence of y^e^ "Printer, witness my hand y^e^ day & yeare above : written.

m^r^ Hackshaw haueing read it scrupled y^e^ signing it, excepting again[st] theise clauses "*The w^ch^ manuscr. I promise to put into y^e^ presse ver[y]* "*speedily, & y^t^ m^r^ Quick shall haue y^e^ correcting of y^e^ sheets as they are* "*wrought off from y^e^ press &c.* I demanded y^e^ reason of his Refuseall. To wch He replyed in theise words, "S^r^, I will not ingage [my] self one "way or other about y^e^ printing of it, onely I will be accountable to m^r^ "Cotton mather for y^e^ manuscr. But, S^r^, said I, showing him y[our] Letter to me, y^t^ m^r^ mather desires it may be printed with all conve- [nient] expedition, & y^t^ I should oversee y^e^ correction of y^e^ presse. He answer[ed:]

"Sr, I haue read it, but I shall engage for nothing, nor will I be con- "cernde at all about it's impression, but another shall. S^r^, said I, pr[ay] "w^o^ is it? m^r^ Hackshaw replys, *I haue treated with m^r^ Parkhurst, who* "*will buy y^e^ paper of me, & print it, provided I will take off an hundred* "*books, wch I intend to send to N. E. & y^e^ Caribbee Islands, there to be* "*disposed of. And Parkhurst will present m^r^ Mather with some books* "*as he thinks fitting, I suppose about Ten.*[1]

I wondred I confesse y^t^ I heard no news this morning (Octob^r^ 11.) of m[y] Booksellers, w^o^ had promised to be with me, & to strike up a bar-

college for training ministers of the Independent denomination." Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, ii. 246.

[1] Of Thomas Parkhurst, whom John Dunton calls "the most eminent Presbyterian Bookseller in the Three Kingdoms," there is a short notice in the Dictionary of National Biography. The eulogistic notice of him by John Dunton, who had been his apprentice, is well known. See Dunton's Life and Errors, Nichols edition, i. 205. Note that before the Magnalia Parkhurst had published at least five books for Cotton Mather. See Arber, Term Catalogues, ii. 342, 521; iii. 242, 271.

gain wi[th] me for y^e^ Coppy, & I had certainly sent you either a fair Bill of some scores of Guineas, or at least an Hundred Books well-bound for your Copy. But what you shall now haue for all your pains & Labour I know not. I cant blame Parkhurst for saueing his coppy-money, nor m^r^ Robert Hacksh[aw] for selling off a warehouse of Paper, y^t^ had long layen on his hands. nor would I haue you to blame me if there be any failures in your Book when printed; for thô I endeavourd to doe you all y^e^ right & service I could & that your History might be published with all advantage to your self & reputation, yet you see how I am excluded from all intermeddling with it. I am full of fears for your Labour, least there should be any Interpolations or detruncations from it. I haue bin dealt with all very unfairly by Parkhurst, for me [?] to gratify his extreame importunity, I let him haue my manscr. Icon of m^r^ fflavells Life to be prefixt to y^e^ late Impression of all his works in 2. voll. in folio,[1] He took it, & got it abridged, but so horribly mained & wounded, that y^e^ poor man in y^e^ Almanack [2] has not more arrows shaking in all y^e^ members of his body, than that Icon of mine has wounds & maimes. And yet it must passe in y^e^ world as if it were my own Composure; when as S^r^, it's no more mine, than if you should chop off my hands, arms, & leggs, & [binding?] pieces of wood to those parts, you should say, this is whole M^r^ Quick. when I expostulated with him for this durty useage, & demanded of him w^o^ did it, He answered me as the Cyclops did Neptune, it was one m^r^ Outis,[3] he did not know whom. S^r^, one thing more I will adde, for I am concernde for you. Tis well you liue 3000. miles off London, or else Burre redivive [4] would cry to you as he did to S^r^

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[1] To the first of the two folio volumes of the Whole Works of John Flavell (1630–1691), the second edition of which was published in 1716, there is prefixed a sketch of Flavell's life. No author's name is mentioned in connection with it, however, and therefore one is puzzled by Quick's statement. This edition of Flavell is among Parkhurst's books advertised at the end of the Magnalia.

[2] Almanacs of the period often include, to show "The Dominion of the Moon in Man's Body passing under the 12 Signs of the Zodiack," a rude woodcut with short straight lines drawn from the different parts of the body to the names and signs of the various constellations in the margin. These lines do look like arrows. Indeed, some of the cuts (e. g. the one in Coley's Merlinus Anglicus Junior for 1700) show daggers or arrows instead of lines. Cf. G. L. Kittredge, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, pp. 53–61.

[3] Quick does not quite accurately remember his Homer (Odyssey, ix. 152 ff.).

[4] On Raleigh's publisher, Walter Burre (fl. 1597–1621), see Arber, Stationers' Register, v. 224. He was made a freeman of the Stationers' Company on June 25, 1596. (Id. ii. 716.) Raleigh's History was entered April 15, 1611 (id. iii. 457), though not published until 1614. If Burre was as unsatisfactory as Quick

Walter Rawleigh, "*I am undone by* y^e^ *printing of your history, & you* "*cannot* doe *lesse than take off 500. books or more to help reimburse me* "*of my dammages.* And yet y^e^ man got an estate by S^r^ Walter's History, thô y^e^ world was really damnified by y^e^ losse of y^e^ two remaining Vollumes, w^ch^ S^r^ Walter in a passion, because he would haue no more undone by Him, cast into y^e^ fire. But let me returne from my Digression. I urgde m^r^ Hackshaw againe twice or thrice, y^t^ I might have y^e^ oversight of y^e^ sheets as they came from y^e^ Presse, & prefix a short Dedicatory Epistle of an half sheet to y^e^ King. Unto w^ch^ he answered, "I haue left all to Parkhurst, w^o^ will take a fourtnights time to peruse "it, & then He will tell me, whether He will print it or no. However I will "be accountable to m^r^ Mather for his Copy. whereupon in complyance with your order, w^ch^ he gave me, I resigned to him your Entire manuscr. together with y^e^ Additionall prints [1] you sent me to be inserted in their proper place, takeing from Him this Receipt, y^e^ Originall I keep by me for my own Indemnity. "London, Octob^r^ 11. 1701. I doe acknowledg "to haue received of m^r^ John Quick min^r^ of y^e^ Gospell by order of y^e^ R. "m^r^ Cotton Mather Pastor of y^e^ N. Ch. at Boston in New Eng^l^ the "mnscr. Copy of his magnalia christi Americana in 7. Books, for y^e^ w^ch^ "mnscr. I will be responsible unto m^r^ Mather aforesaid, witnesse my "hand y^e^ day & year aboue-written, R. Hackshaw."

you should haue received this account sooner, would my health haue

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suggests, it seems strange that Ben Jonson should have been content to have him publish Every Man in his Humour, The Alchemist, and The Silent Woman. (Id. iii. 169, 445, 498.) On the legend, which Sir J. K. Laughton and Sir Sidney Lee reject, that Raleigh threw his manuscript into the fire, see John Aubrey, Lives, ed. Clark, ii. 191. Aubrey apparently got the story from William Winstanley's England's Worthies (1660). In the second edition (1684) it occurs on page 300 (wrongly numbered 360 in the Harvard copy). The Dictionary of National Biography tells us that Winstanley's material was "principally stolen from Lloyd," but in Lloyd's State Worthies I do not find the story in the account of Raleigh.

[1] As copy for the parts of the Magnalia that had already appeared in print Mather apparently sent over — as he naturally would — either the Boston or the London editions of the books in question. See, in Sibley's list, Harvard Graduates, iii. 42–158, Nos. 5, 7, 32, 33, 52, 65, 66, 68, etc. Comparison of the text of these works as originally printed and as reprinted in the Magnalia would throw further light on the question of responsibility for the frequent misprints in the Magnalia. In sixteen cases, taken at random, where errors in the Magnalia are pointed out in the errata sheet found in a few copies of the Magnalia, the "prints" are correct in fourteen. That is to say, if given anything like the chance an author now has of assisting in the correct production of his book, Cotton Mather would probably have shown himself, if not an impartial judge, at least the painstaking scholar that he was.

permitted me. N.B. Governour Dudley [1] desired that he might read over (w^ch^ He did in my Library) his ffather's Life, & altered one or two words, w^ch^ as I remember were theise, "*not a servant* but uncle or "Guardian to y^e^ Earle of Lincolne. He approved of your performance. I had proposed theise Articles to my Booksellers, w^o^ should haue purchased your Mnscr. of me. 1. 100. Guineas or so many Books well-bound. 2. Six of y^e^ larger Paper [2] richly bound for your Patrons. 3. To be put into y^e^ Presse immediately. 4. Every sheet to be brought to me hot from y^e^ Presse to be revised & corrected.[3] 5. The Paper & character to be y^e^ same with my printed Proposalls.[4] 6. not one to be sold

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[1] Joseph Dudley is said to have reached London some time before February, 1693, and to have sailed for Boston on April 13, 1702. See E. Kimball, Public Life of Joseph Dudley, pp. 65, 75. In the Magnalia (1702), Book II, p. 16, the elder Dudley is called a "Steward" to the Earl. The same is true of the earlier account in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xi. 207 ff., 212. On the differences between Mather's earlier account of Dudley and that in the Magnalia, see K. B. Murdock, Selections from Cotton Mather, p. xliv. Note the interesting passage in the Magnalia (1702), Book ii, p. 16: "I had prepared and intended a more *particular Account* of this Gentleman [Thomas Dudley]; but not having any opportunity to commit it unto the *Perusal* of any Descended from him, (unto whom I am told it will be unacceptable for me to Publish any thing of this kind, by *them* not *Perused*) I have laid it aside, and summed all up in this more *General Account*."

[2] Large paper copies of the Magnalia are to be found occasionally: the catalogue of the Church Library (No. 806) mentions seven besides its own. In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society there are two copies not mentioned in the Church Catalogue, one being the copy that belonged to Samuel Mather and that was used by him while he was engaged upon an abridgment of the Magnalia. See Cotton Mather's Diary, ii. 88, 142–143. This copy is about $14\frac{15}{16}$ inches high and $9\frac{3}{16}$ inches wide. Small paper copies are usually about 12 inches by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

[3] Strange as it may seem that an author's representative should unsuccessfully beg the privilege of seeing proof sheets, we must remember that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century the author had nothing like the control of his text and front-matter that he now has. On this point see my article on John Cotton's Singing of Psalmes a Gospell Ordinance, in our Publications, xx. 241 ff.

[4] Whether Quick here refers to the proposals for printing his own Icones Sacrae or those for the Magnalia is not clear. But we know that shortly before December, 1701, proposals for printing the Magnalia were issued over the names of Hackshaw and Parkhurst. Evidence of this is found in the following advance notice of the Magnalia in John Dunton's The Post-Angel for December, 1701 (ii. 468), which on account of its rarity may perhaps be worth reprinting here: "Proposals were lately Publish'd for Printing *The History of New-England* from its first Plantetion [*sic*], in 1620. unto 1690. By *Cotton Mather, Pastor of a Church in* Boston, *in New-England, containing seven Books.* . . . As to the Author of

off till all your Books were first delivered to me. 7. The best chart of New Engl. The best Topographicall Delineation of Boston, & your effigies' in mezzotinto to be præfixed to y^e^ whole work. But all theise fair designes, hopes, & endeauors of mine for you are now vanished into smoak. Most of all am I grieued for ye Paper & character, w^ch^ compareing with y^e^ specimens herewith sent you will certainly affect & afflict you, for they doe me very much. And how to remedy any other miscarriages about y^e^ Impression I am utterly at a losse. The delays in publishing my Icons was no detriment, but in truth a furtherance to your work. For I wûd haue procured you all my subscribers. But I dônt owe y^e^ Booksellers that suit & service. It hath pleased y^e^ Lord to continue his heavy hand upon now full 20. Monthes, & this Week hath bin a racking torture to me. Dear S^r^, haue me recommended to your R. Father, & to all our Brethren with you. The R. R. m^r^ How,[1] m^r^

this Elabrate History, HE IS A PERSON OF GREAT LEARNING AND PIETY: I had the Happiness formerly to be acquainted with him, and have heard him Preach many Excellent Sermons in *New-England*, being once in his Company (which I took for Heaven; 'twas always so good and Spiritual) he shew'd me his *Library*, and I do think, he has one of the best (for a Private Library) that I ever saw: Nay, I may affirm, that as the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford* is the Glory of that University, if not of all Europe: So I may say, Mr. Mather's *Library* is the Glory of *New-England*, if not of all *America*. I must own, I was greatly wanting to my self, if I did not learn more in that Hour I Enjoy'd his Company, than I cou'd in a Week spent in other mens: And therefore, none can doubt of an Extraordinary History, from an Author so well Provided with Books, and of such Great Parts; but I shan't Enlarge for the Work will recommended it self, for the Rich Variety of its Materials and for its most Exact Fidelity and Impartiality observed in its Collection. The whole containing 220 Sheets, or there abouts; it is to be Printed in Folio, on Paper and Print according to Proposals; deliver'd out by *Thomas Parkhurst*, at the *Bible* and Three *Crowns*, in *Cheapside*, near *Mercers Chappel;* and Mr. *Robert Hackshaw* Merchant in *London*. To Encourage Subscribers, to this Great and Useful Work, he that brings the first Payment for Six Books, — is promis'd a Seventh Gratis, in Larger or Smaller Paper; and it has already found, such great Encouragement, That the whole Book will be Finish'd about *Lady-Day* next." Parts of this are identical with Dunton's Letters from New England, ed. Whitmore, p. 75.

[1] John Howe (1630–1705) lived on for four years more in spite of his severe labors. See Dictionary of National Biography; Calamy's Memoir prefixed to Howe's Works, 1724, and Gordon's Freedom after Ejection, pp. 287–88. In 1697 Howe and two others had signed the prefatory note recommending Cotton Mather's Life of Sir William Phips (Sibley, iii. 64, No. 66). One of Howe's books is mentioned with approval in Mather's Diary, i. 56. George Hamond (Hammond) (1620–1705) was still lecturer at Salters Hall. See Dictionary of National Biography. For Vincent Alsop (1630–1703), see Gordon, p. 199. Perhaps "Mr. Griffyth" is Roger Griffith (*d.* 1708). Id. p. 275. Mr. Bragge is presumably Robert Bragge (1627–1704), who was in 1702 the minister of a congregation in

Hammond, m^r^ Alsop, m^r^ Griffyth, m^r^ Bragge, & my poor self can not be long on this side y^e^ Graue, we are hastening homeward apa[ce]. O! Lift up a petition for me, That I may finish my course with joy, & obtaine y^e^ end of my ffaith, ye salvation of my soul. I am waiting for y^t^ blessed hope, y^e^ glorious appearance of y^e^ great God, & our Saviour ye Lord Jesus Christ. Come Lord Jesu! even so come quickly! I thank you for your pious & usefull meditations, w^ch^ have much refreshed me. Had my ffast sermons about 3. years agoe upon y^e^ 5. of Jer. 12. upon y^e^ 64. Esay. 1. & upon 25. Jer. 29, & 11. Psal. 3. bin compared with those excellent ones of your Honoured ffather on Ezek. 9. 3. together with his Epistle to y^e^ Reader, you would ha[ve] said, I had borrowed all my notions from Him, thô I never saw them, till your Brother presented them to me this munday.[1] But y^e^ same holy spirit suggested to us both y^e^ same thoughts, y^e^ very self same holy matter. O! y^t^ they w^o^ haue ears would heare what y^e^ spirit saith unto y^e^ churches! Forgiue me the tedium of this epistle. I shall never trouble you at this rate any more. Grace be with your spirit! So prayeth, Dear S^r^,

Your most affectionate thô unworthy fellow serv^t^

JOHN QUICK

London, March. 19.
1701/2.

postscript, what & if y^e^ min^rs^ of N. E. did address her majesty Qu. Anne, congratulateing her happy succession to y^e^ throne? Engrosse it in parchmin, subscribe it with as many hands as you can, of Pastors of churches, & send it over here to be presented by some w^o^ you can intrust. I am confident it will be kindly taken, & turne to good Account for you. What you doe, doe quickly. Let your Address be short but cordiall & melting.

This letter certainly does something toward filling the gaps in the story of the Magnalia. It makes quite clear the relation of Hackshaw and Parkhurst; it shows how persistent, though vain, was Quick's endeavor to secure the opportunity to examine the proof-

Pewterers' Hall, Lime Street, London. Id. p. 220; J. G. White, Churches and Chapels, Part II, pp. 17–18. At least two of these divines had known Increase Mather in England: see K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather, Index, s. v. Alsop and Howe.

[1] Increase Mather's sermon on Ezek. 9. 3 is printed in his "Ichabod," Boston, 1702, where appears also an "Epistle to y^e^ Reader" dated November 14, 1701, which explains how apt churches are to degenerate, that "Christians may be called to suffer for their Testimony unto Truths which are not Fundamentals in Religion," and that there is reason to fear great calamities are impending for the English nation. I have not been able to find the sermons by Quick to which he refers; perhaps they were not published.

sheets before publication; and it opens a tantalizing prospect of mezzotint portraits, patrons, and various other worldly considerations which the "Chief of Sinners" in his far-away Boston study must have found it hard to renounce.

Why was this devout, unwieldy book called the Magnalia? We know that Cotton Mather had a fondness for beginning his titles with a word or phrase from the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin.[1] And it is a matter of record that the word "magnalia" occurs several times in Latin,[2] notably in the Vulgate version of Acts ii. 11, where the Greek τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ becomes "magnalia Dei," which in the King James Version is "the wonderful works of God." It can, therefore, be asserted with confidence that to every Puritan of anything like Cotton Mather's learning "magnalia" was familiar, had a Biblical connotation, and would probably have been rendered into English about as it is rendered by King James's translators.

Of less importance are the cases — the Oxford Dictionary gives three — where seventeenth century writers use "magnalia" in English prose.[3]

At least four times before Cotton Mather used it, the word "magnalia" had formed a part of the title of an English book, and one of these titles is so similar to our New England Magnalia as to suggest a source. These four titles are:

1. Magnalia Dei. A Relation Of some of the many Remarkable Passages in Cheshire Before the Siege of Namptwich, during the Continuance of it: And at the happy raising of it by the victorious Gentlemen Sir Tho. Fairfax and Sir William Brereton. Together With the Deliverance and Victory by the Garrison at Nottingham: certified in a Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons. Published by Authority and entred according to order. Psal. 31. 23, 24. . . . London: Printed for Robert Bostock dwelling at the Signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard. 1644. 4°. [2 leaves and] pp. 1–22.[4]

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[1] See, among other titles, Sibley, iii. 51–157, Nos. 24, 41, 49, 52, 53, 55, 66, 68, 74, 77, 111, 118, 157, 159, 187, 213, 226, 250, 254, 261, 280, 301, 305, 307, 327, 330, 333, 338, 349, 362, 377, 394, 400, 419, 421, 423, 428, 429, 432, 441, 451.

[2] See Harper's Lexicon and Du Cange.

[3] The Oxford Dictionary also gives five examples — all in the seventeenth century — of "magnale" as a singular or "magnalls" as a plural form.

[4] The Harvard library has a copy of this book.

2. Magnalia Dei ab Aquilone; Set Forth, In A Sermon Preached Before The Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, at S[t] Margarets Westminster, upon Thursday Iuly 18, 1644. being the day of publike Thanksgiving for the great Victory obtained against Prince Rupert and the Earle of Newcastles Forces neere Yorke. By Richard Vines, Minister of Gods Word at Weddington in the County of Warwick, and a Member of the Assembly of Divines. Published by Order of both Houses. London, Printed by G. M. for Abel Roper at the signe of the Sunne over against S[t] Dunstans Church in Fleet-street. 1644. 4°. [2 leaves and] pp. 1–21 [and 1 leaf].[1]
3. Magnalia Naturae: Or, The Philosophers-Stone, lately exposed to publick Sight and Sale. Being a true and exact Account of the Manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous Projection-Maker, at the Emperor's Court at Vienna, came by, and made away with a very great Quantity of Powder of Projection . . . for some Years past. Published at the Request, and for the Satisfaction of several Curious, especially of Mr. Boyle, &c. By John Joachim Becker, . . . London, . . . 1680. 4°. 38 pages. (This curious pamphlet is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany.)[2]
4. The fourth example seems much more significant. It bears the title: Magnalia Dei Anglicana. Or, Englands Parliamentary-Chronicle. Containing a full and faithfull Series, and Exact Narration of all the most memorable Parliamentary-Mercies, and mighty (if not miraculous) Deliverances, great and glorious Victories, and admirable Successes, of the Counsels and Armies of this present Parliament, both by Sea and by Land, over the whole Kingdom of England, in the most just defence and Vindication of her Religion, Laws, and Liberties, from the yeer, 1640. to this present yeer, 1646. . . . Collected cheifly for the high Honour of our Wonder-working God; And for the unexpressible Comfort of all Cordiall English Parliamentarians. By the most unworthy Admirer of Them, John Vicars. . . . Imprinted at London, for J. Rothwell, at the Sun & Fountain, in Pauls Church-yard, and Tho. Underhill, at the Bible in Woodstreet. 1646.[3]

Part I of Vicars has a very long separate title-page which may be shortened to: Jehovah-Jireh. God in the Mount. . . . 1644. (Pages

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[1] The Harvard library has a copy of this book.
[2] Edition of 1811, vii. 480.
[3] The Harvard library has a copy of this book.

1–434 and Index.) Although the pagination is continuous and (in the Harvard copy at least) Part II has no separate title-page,[1] Part I may be said to end with page 87: "But here, good Reader, I have thought fit to shut up the sluce and flood-gates of this most fluent River; to put a period to the first part of this our famous and most memorable *Parliamentarie Chronicle*," etc.

Part III has another very long separate title-page: Gods Arke Overtopping the Worlds Waves, Or The Third Part of the Parliamentary Chronicle. . . . 1646. The paging runs to 304; then follows an index, or "Table."

Part IV is called: The Burning-Bush not Consumed. Or, The Fourth and Last Part Of The Parliamentarie-Chronicle. . . . 1646. This has 476 pages of text, followed by a table.

To say nothing about the similarity of their titles for subdivisions, the likeness is as close as it could be between John Vicars' Magnalia Dei Anglicana of 1646 and Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana of fifty years later. There is apparently no evidence [2] to show that Cotton Mather ever owned a copy of Vicars. But he may well have had one, or at least have heard of its title. And to make just that slight change in Vicars' title would have been exactly in Cotton Mather's manner.[3]

Let us conclude, as John Quick did, with a postscript about Queen Anne. It is surely interesting to find this London Puritan urging upon a Boston minister the importance of a certain diplomatic gesture. Did Cotton Mather respond to the suggestion?

The date of Quick's letter, it will be remembered, was March 19. King William had died on March 8. On April 23 occurred the coronation of Queen Anne. Well might Quick urge speed, for before

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[1] Page 89 has the following heading, printed like a chapter-title: God on the Mount, Or A Continuation Of Englands Parliamentary Chronicle.

[2] Mr. Julius H. Tuttle is my authority for this statement.

[3] Cf. his Right Thoughts in Sad Hours (1689) with Thomas Fuller's Good Thoughts in Bad Times (1645–46) and Good Thoughts in Worse Times (1647); note also Mather's Balsamum Vulnerarium e Scriptura; or the Cause and Cure of a Wounded Spirit (1691), as compared with Fuller's The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience (1647). These resemblances are not the only ones between Mather's titles and those of certain predecessors: the kind of learning and word-play that he delighted to show lent themselves perfectly to this sort of thing. Nor are these the only examples of Cotton Mather's indebtedness to Fuller. That subject would, in all probability, be worth investigating.

Magnalia Dei Anglicana.

OR,

Englands Parliamentary - Chronicle.

Containing a full and faithfull *Series*, and Exact *Narration* of all the most memorable *Parliamentary Affaires*, and mighty (if not miraculous) *Deliverances*, great and glorious *Victories*, and admirable *Successes*, of the *Counsels* and *Armies* of this present *Parliament*, both by *Sea* and by *Land*, over the whole *Kingdome of England*, in the most just *defence* and *Vindication* of her *Religion, Lawes*, and *Liberties*, from the yeer, 1640. to this present yeer, 1646. Compiled in 4 *Parts*; The two first, intituled, *Gods Arke in the Mount*. The third, *Gods Arke overtopping the Worlds Waves*; The fourth, *The Burning-Bush not Consumed*: This last *Part*, comming up to *These Present Times*, and to our most renowned *Generall*, Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes* late famous *Actions*, in the *West*, and the happy (because unbloody) rendition of *Oxford*, in this present yeer, 1646.

Collected cheifly for the high Honour *of our* Wonder-working *God*; *And for the unexpressible* Comfort *of all* Cordiall English PARLIAMENTARIANS.

By the most unworthy *Admirer* of *Them*,

JOHN VICARS.

Gen. 49. 22, 23, 24.

Joseph *is a fruitfull* Bough, *even a fruitfull* Bough, *by a* Well; *whose* Branches *run over the* Wall. *The* Archers *shot at him and hated him*; *But his* Bow *abode in* strength, *and the* Armes *of his hands were made strong, by the* Hand *of the mighty* God *of* Jacob; *from thence is the* Shepherd, *the* stone *of* Israel.

Imprinted at *London*, for *J. Rothwell*, at the Sun & Fountain, in *Pauls* Church-yard, and *Tho. Underhill*, at the Bible in *Westminster*. 1646.

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

his letter could reach Boston, addresses to the Queen began to pour in from her loyal subjects the two great universities, from the various dioceses, boroughs, and the like.[1]

On June 16, 1702, in spite of his wife's extreme illness, Cotton Mather was able to note in his diary: "Several Addresses of some Consequence, especially one to the Queen, did I draw up, about this Time." [2]

In the London Gazette, No. 3829 (July 20–23, 1702), we find these items:

Boston *in* New-England, June *8.*

On the 28th of May *last we received Advice of the Death of His late Majesty, and of Her present Majesty's happy Succession to the Throne: The Council and the General Assembly were then sitting, and the Members of the Council immediately took the Oath of Allegiance to her Majesty. The next day the Council, attended by the Representatives in the General Assembly, the Ministers, Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Inhabitants, Proclaimed Her Majesty, the Troop of Guards and the Regiment of Militia being in Arms, who, when the Proclamation was ended, fired three Volleys, which was followed with Huzza's, and loud Acclamations of* God save Queen Anne, *and the Cannon of the Castle and Forts, and of Her Majesty's Ship the* Gosport, *and the Merchant Ships then in our Port, was discharged. In the Evening the Company was entertained at the Town-House, and other Places, and all other Demonstrations of Joy were given suitable to the Occasion. The 31st, the Representatives took the Oath of Allegiance. The 4th Instant, the Members of the Council and other Gentlemen of the Town went into Mourning for the Death of His late Majesty. The Bells were tolled from 8 till 10 in the morning, and from 2 till 4 in the afternoon; Funeral Sermons were preached in all the Churches, and the Guns of the Castle and Forts, and of the Ships in our Port, were all discharged.*

Windsor, July *19. The following Address was presented to Her Majesty by* Constantine Phipps *Esq; introduced by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of* Nottingham, *Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.*

To Her most Excellent Majesty *Anne,* by the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland,* Queen, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

The humble Address of the Council and Representatives of Your Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay *in* New-England, *in General Court assembled.*

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[1] See the London Gazette.

[2] Diary, i. 433.

Most Gracious Sovereign.

The Surprizing Intelligence of the Awful Stroke of Divine Providence, in the Death of our late Sovereign Lord King William III. *of ever Glorious Memory, filled us with no little Consternation, and very sensibly affects us with a deep Sorrow for so unspeakable a Loss; which we humbly crave leave to Condole with Your Majesty and our Nation; and at the same time most heartily to Congratulate Your Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, whereby our Grief is alleviated, in that Your Majesty's known Zeal for, and firm Adherence to, the Protestant Religion, gives us Assurance of enjoying Prosperity under Your Majesty's auspicious Reign, which God grant may be long and prosperous.*

Humbly beseeching Your Majesty, That the benign Influences of Your Royal Goodness and Protection may be extended to Your Majesty's good Subjects in this Province, at so great distance from the Royal Seat.

That Almighty God would afford Your Majesty the Assistance of all Divine Grace, is and shall be the hearty and fervent Prayer of Your Majesty's most Dutiful, Loyal, and Obedient Subjects.

Boston, *June* 6. 1702.

Then follows an address from Barbadoes. "Which Addresses Her Majesty received very graciously."

This address, to be sure, is not quite what Quick suggested: it is an address from the Legislature, not from the clergy. But the date is very close to the date when Mather notes that "about this Time" he wrote an address to the Queen. Moreover it does not appear that any other of the American colonies sent addresses. There seems, therefore, rather more than a possibility that it was Quick's suggestion that prompted Cotton Mather, and Cotton Mather's pen that wrote the address.

Mr. Thomas J. Holmes, Librarian of the William Gwinn Mather Library in Cleveland, has communicated to the Society the following sketch of Samuel Mather, of Witney, referred to in Mr. Greenough's paper:

SAMUEL MATHER OF WITNEY, 1674–1733

All editors who have had occasion to look into the life of Samuel Mather of Witney have agreed that very little is known of it. By a close reading of the scanty materials concerning him, still extant,

mainly in the library of Mr. William Gwinn Mather, it seems safe to set down the following meagre outline of his biography.

He was born in Boston on Friday, August 28, 1674, the sixth of the ten children, and youngest of the three sons, of Increase Mather and his wife, Maria, daughter of the first John Cotton of Boston.[1]

Samuel gained the rudiments of his Hebrew and Greek from his brilliant brother Nathanael, five years his senior, who died when nineteen years old. Samuel acquired as much or more in other subjects, including Latin, from his eldest brother, the still more brilliant Cotton Mather, who was eleven years his senior.

He studied at Harvard and his first degree was conferred upon him by that college in 1690, though he was not present in person to receive it.[2]

In April, 1688, he went with his father to England when the latter began his four years political mission there. It is extremely probable that he lodged with his uncle and aunt, Nathanael and Mary Mather, who had no children of their own. Nathanael had come to London from Dublin in 1687, and in 1689 was living in Fenchurch street.[3] He succeeded the Rev. John Collins, who died December 3, 1687,[4] in the pastorate of that Congregational church world famous in recent times as The London City Temple. Increase Mather visited and conferred with his brother frequently while in London.[5]

Samuel spent little time with his extremely busy parent in England except during holiday jaunts in and near London; such as the visits to the Council Chamber and to Chelsea, and the trips to Hounslow, Maidenhead and Cambridge, which Sewall records.[6]

In September, 1689, at Deal, in Kent, Samuel took the smallpox while he and his father and friends waited for the ship for Boston. The Mathers were unable to leave. On October 3, however, Samuel being able to travel, his father took him back to London, probably again to stay with his uncle Nathanael, and to continue his studies, doubtless under the direction of his uncle. The duration of Increase

[1] C. Robbins, History of the Second Church, p. 216.

[2] Sewall, Diary (July 2, 1690), i. 324.

[3] Sewall, Diary, i. 259.

[4] Mather Papers in 4 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, viii. 67 and note; and J. L. Sibley, Harvard Graduates, i. 189–190.

[5] See K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather, p. 197 and note 36.

[6] Sewall, Diary, i. 259–261, 270, 301, 307; Sewall, Letter Book, ii. 262.

Mather's stay in London being uncertain it is scarcely probable that Samuel entered any English college. That Samuel did not neglect his Latin while in England, is indicated by a mention of a Latin letter he wrote to Samuel Sewall, probably early in 1691, which Sewall answered, also in Latin, on May 11, of that year.[1] I wonder whether it may have been Samuel Sewall who transmitted to Samuel Mather his diploma from Harvard, and whether this Latin correspondence began with a covering letter in that language written by Sewall to young Samuel? Increase Mather returned home in 1692. Samuel came with him, "well improved in his education."[2]

Probably Samuel reëntered Harvard in the autumn of 1692 in order to carry forward his studies to fit himself to receive the degree of A.M. That such a degree was conferred upon him at some time is indicated by the A.M. which ornaments his name in the title-pages of two of his works, and in the inscription of a rare and undoubtedly authentic mezzotint portrait of him, still extant. That it was Harvard College which conferred the degree is indicated by the inclusion of his name with the Master's degree there duly credited, in the list of the class of 1690 given in the Catalogus of 1698.[3]

Mr. Albert Matthews inclines to the opinion that Samuel may have received his second degree in 1693. To accomplish an ade-

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[1] Sewall, Letter Book, i. 117.

[2] Cotton Mather, Diary i. 148. See also, K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather, pp. 284–286; and Increase Mather's MS Autobiography now owned by the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. In a note recording his return to Boston in 1692, Increase Mather says that he came home to his house in Boston, "my Samuel with me."

[3] Magnalia, Book IV, 138. For the noting of the significance of this entry I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews, who writes in part as follows: "There is evidence that he [Samuel Mather, 1674–1733] received the A.M. degree from his own Alma Mater. This is furnished by the 1925 Quinquennial and by the only two Triennials I have at hand for consultation. No copy of the 1698 Triennial is known, but that it was issued as a broadside is my opinion, for I believe that the Catalogus given in Cotton Mather's Magnalia (Book IV, p. 138) was merely copied from a broadside. But however that may be, 'Samuel Matherus Mr.' is there found. And 'Samuel Matherus Mr' is also found in the 1700 Triennial (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 28). I am aware that these entries are not absolutely conclusive, for I have found various errors both in the old Triennials and in the modern Quinquennials. . . . Now if S. M. was in Boston in 1693 it is reasonable to suppose that he would have turned up at Commencement for his A.M., and since that degree was accorded him in the 1698 and 1700 Triennials it seems to me a safe guess that he actually got it in 1693."

quate preparation for such a recognition, after only one year of renewed study at Harvard, presupposes Samuel to have pursued his studies with scarcely any interruption during his four years' stay in England. Be that as it may, Samuel could have put in his three years' study following his first degree — usually, though not always, required [1] — and have received his A.M. degree in 1695 and still have been recorded in Cotton Mather's Magnalia Catalogus of 1698.

The Reverend John Higginson of Salem, under the date of March 25, 1697,[2] stated that "*Samuel Mather* . . . is now a publick Preacher." The omission of anything to connect him with any church seems to indicate that he had not as yet been made a pastor of a church.

In 1703 Increase Mather recorded in his manuscript autobiography his wish that Samuel might be chosen to succeed his father at the Second Church, and in 1704 he said, "Since I wrote this, the brethren, (about 100 of them) have invited my Samuel to return to them but he is not inclined; nor would I again urge it." Samuel had apparently found England to his liking, for at this time he was in London. That he returned thither shortly after attaining his second degree is indicated by Sewall's record of packets and letters sent to him there in 1698.[3] There is no record of his ever visiting New England again.

Samuel Mather of Witney is named in the will of his aunt Mary Mather (proved in 1705), widow of Nathanael Mather of London.[4] He is to receive a fourth part of the residuum of the estate after sundry benefices have been paid; and he is to receive the whole of his uncle's library after paying one hundred pounds to Mr. Warham

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[1] Harvard Students " . . . such of them as had studied *Three Years* after their *First Degree*, to answer the *Horatian* Character of an Artist. . . . And besides their Exhibiting *Synopses* of the *Liberal Arts* by themselves composed, now again publickly disputed on some *Questions*, of perhaps a little higher Elevation; *These* now, with a like Formality, [of receiving a book from the hand of the President] received their *Second Degree*, proceeding *Masters of Art*." Magnalia, Book IV, p. 128. However there is no specified period of study included in the requirements for the Master's degree as set down in section 18 of the laws of Harvard College printed in the Magnalia, Book IV, p. 133.

[2] In Attestation, to Cotton Mather's Magnalia.

[3] Sewall, Letter Book, i. 201, 203. A passage in Increase Mather's manuscript autobiography (American Antiquarian Society) shows Samuel was still in Boston in 1695.

[4] Nathanael died in 1697.

Mather, his cousin, for the latter's one-half share of the books. Samuel is also to receive his uncle's watch.[1]

In later years, Sir Henry Ashurst more than once invited Samuel Mather to call on him.[2] Samuel did not accept, perhaps because he felt no inclination to curry favor with the great. He seems to have had no pronounced thirst for fame. Most of his works were published anonymously. Only the last three of the publications wholly from his pen were signed by him. Only the last two bore his A.M. degree. He had a somewhat blunt, forthright manner, tempered, it may be, with humor a trifle hard — traceable in the few references to him in Cotton Mather's Diary, in Samuel's letter to Cotton, and in at least one of Samuel's printed works, A Letter to a Minister.

In this work among other things he comments on the "especial assault of trouble" that ministers encounter from some church members. One such member "hearing a sermon, preached on Proverbs x. 7, 'The Memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall ROT'; scoffed at and said the Minister preached a Rotten Sermon; presently, after hurting his Tongue with a little wood he held in his Mouth, it swelled, rotted, and he dyed of it." [3]

Of this work Cotton Mather says: "My Brother has a pretty Fancy, in his Discourse of *Temptations*; that Ministers, who meet with Abuses from sorry and scoundrel People, have cause to look on themselves as humbled, on the Account of their having the *Egyptian* Plague of *Lice* upon them. I am very *lowsy*, it seems; and I ought therefore to be very *humble*. Under the Assaults and Insults of contemptible People, I must behave myself, as under the Fulfilment of that Word, *my GOD will Humble me*." [4]

Samuel Mather seems to have valued money moderately and wholesomely, though he said, perhaps mentally contrasting himself or his views, that the family weakness lay in the other direction.[5] He was a good enough business manager to have successfully built in 1712 the first Congregational church in Witney, Oxfordshire. He was the first Congregational minister there. The building he erected

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[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlv. 296, 297.
[2] 6 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, v. 200.
[3] Page 11.
[4] Diary, ii. 665.
[5] See his letter in Cotton Mather's Diary, ii. 322–323.

was plain, but well enough constructed to house its congregation for one hundred and sixteen years. The famous Rev. Roland Hill preached a sermon there in 1827. After the second chapel was built about 1828, the older edifice served lowlier purposes, and it is probably still in use.[1]

Samuel did not despise money, even in marriage. He "was united in marriage to a Miss Townsend, who came of the family that lived at Staple Hall for so long a time," [2] says William J. Monk. Sir Henry Ashurst calls the lady "a rich widow." After visiting Samuel and his wife in 1709 at Waterstock, he writes to Increase Mather, "Y^{r} son hath a handsome good woman, and a considerable fortune." [3] In 1710, Sewall congratulates Increase Mather on "the good Settlement of Mr. Samuel Mather in England." A year later, Increase Mather's autobiography testifies to its author's gratitude for news that his son is greatly respected in "diverse parts of England."

The humorous vein in Samuel's character, I think, is not belied by the lineaments of his rather heavy features preserved in the mezzotint already mentioned. The engraving is from a painting, the original of which is now probably lost.[4] The face is oval and of

[1] "It is situated in the Marlborough Yard, in Meeting-House Lane, Witney, Oxford, England. In recent years it was an agricultural implement warehouse, today — significant change — it has become a garage," says the historian of Witney, William J. Monk, Burford, Oxford, in a letter November 17, 1921, to the William Gwinn Mather Library.

[2] It was a William Townsend, doubtless of the same family, who carried the entire cost (one thousand pounds) of erecting, in 1828, the new chapel mentioned above. W. J. Monk cites a resolution of the Witney Blanket Company in the year 1714, desiring Mrs. Townsend to provide a dinner for the company. See W. J. Monk, History of Witney, pp. 75, 226, 229.

[3] Poor, weak, good-natured, scape-grace young "Cressy," son of Cotton Mather, found his aunt at Witney good and handsome. She received him when he arrived about May, 1715, worn and reduced, after his rather unsuccessful first venture to sea. Later, after she had tenderly cared for him through months of illness, he expressed a "passion of Gratitude and admiration" for her and her accomplishments. See Cotton Mather's letters to his son Increase, August, 1715, and to Mrs. Samuel Mather, 1715–16, in his Diary, ii. 323, 325; Samuel Mather's letter to Cotton Mather, id. ii. 322–323; Thomas Reynolds's letter to Cotton Mather, id. ii. 319; and Sir Henry Ashurst's letters in 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 200, 216.

[4] Possibly the painting may have been that owned by Miss Jane Mather of Newcastle-on-Tyne, which the genealogist of the Mathers saw in 1887, but which has since disappeared. See H. E. Mather, Lineage of Richard Mather, p. 9, and note 4 on page 320 below.

full flesh, apparently that of a man forty-five to fifty years old. The face is turned slightly to the subject's right, presenting more of his left side. The head is covered with a wig of huge curls, the eyes are large and dark, open, alert, and dauntless, yet they seem to betray latent humor. The nose, long but not sharp, has a slightly flattened ridge down its front — which gives it character — similar to, but straighter than, that shown in the Pelham mezzotint of Cotton Mather. The chin is rounded. The lower lip is full, the upper a cupid's bow. At the neck are the clerical bands of the period. The figure is attired in a close-fitting coat with huge braided buttons. Over the left, the nearer, shoulder, are folds of loose drapery.

This print exists in two states. One, in the British Museum, is possibly the earlier. It is the sharper and clearer, and has an inscription which positively identifies it: "SAMUEL MATHER *Crescent. Fil. R. Philips pinx. J. Simon fecit.*" In the other, owned by William Gwinn Mather, the name reads: "SAMUEL MATHER A.M.," the rest of the inscription being the same.

Samuel may have caused the engraving, and the painting from which it was copied, to be made in response to a request; for he wrote from London to his brother Cotton on July 23, 1715: "I have enquired concerning Vertues price for an head. He has five guineas and an half guinea for Engraving such an octavo picture as White Engraved for my Father." [1] It is apparent that Samuel decided to have his picture painted and engraved by someone other than Vertue. It is probable that the J. Simon engraving was made a considerable time after this date. Portraits by Richard Philips were painted from about 1720 to 1740.

"*Crescent. Fil.*," Son of Increase, recognizes the greater fame of the father — divine, author, diplomat — twenty of whose books were in earlier years published in London and prints of whose engraved portrait were familiar to habitués of London bookshops. The British Journal gave its readers a notice of the elder Mather's death.[2] It was to this London public that the mezzotint of his son must appeal. "*Crescent. Fil.*" can refer to no Samuel Mather but him of Witney. Samuel Mather, M.A., of Dublin, 1626–1671, uncle of Samuel of

[1] See K. B. Murdock, The Portraits of Increase Mather.

[2] See K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather, p. 390, and The Portraits, *passim.* Increase Mather died in 1723.

SAMUEL MATHER A.M.

R. Philips pinx. *J. Simon fecit*

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original mezzotint owned by
William Gwinn Mather, Esquire

Witney, used his master's degree in the English form M.A.[1] It is the Latin form, A.M., which was substituted in the inscription of the second state of the Samuel Mather portrait, for the erased "*Crescent. Fil.*" It was in this Latin form that "Samuel Mather, A.M.," himself used his name and title in the title-pages of his Vindication of the Holy Bible (1723) and his Charge Deliver'd . . . at Wantage (1726).

The first state of the J. Simon mezzotint may have appeared about 1724, when Samuel was fifty years old, as he appears in this print. This would place it in the period of his greatest fame and make it contemporaneous with his publication of his Memoirs of Increase Mather, which came out after all his own major works had been printed. The engraving was not designed for use as a frontispiece, and it is worth noting that no copy was inserted in any of the surviving copies of his books.[2] The second state may represent a new issue of prints made when the lustre of Increase Mather's name had become dimmed by time and "*Crescent. Fil.*" had lost its special significance. Perhaps it was made when Samuel's death called attention to him. Then his fame must rest solely on his achievements, and his own A.M. had become a better title than "*Crescent. Fil.*" The second state, then, may well have been printed in 1733.

Another engraving of the subject, though not done in Samuel's lifetime, is apparently taken from a painting which had some right to be considered authentic. This print is inscribed: "*Samuel Mather. from an original Painting in the Possession of Mr. Townsend, Holborn. Bocquet, Sc. Published by Button & Son, Paternoster Row.*" It was engraved for, and published in, Palmer's edition of Calamy's Non-Conformist's Memorial in 1802.[3]

That the original painting from which this engraving was made was owned about 1800 by a Mr. Townsend, of London, suggests that it may have once been in the possession of kinsmen of Samuel Mather's wife, in Witney, and this in turn supports a belief in its authenticity. Possibly it was an heirloom once owned by Samuel Mather himself.

[1] It is practically certain, too, that Samuel of Dublin left no portrait of himself. See 4 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, viii. 18, 19.

[2] Prints of Increase Mather, not intended for use as frontispieces, have been found inserted in some of the extant copies of various of his works.

[3] ii. 355.

Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton, in his Portraits of the Founders, gives it as his opinion that this engraving was taken from a painting which he reproduces, and which is now owned by the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.[1] The early records of the society which connect the painting with Samuel Mather of Dublin are believed by Mr. Bolton to be in error.[2] However, the Bocquet engraving in the 1802 Calamy, though copying many details of the original, is not quite faithful, in that the engraving shows a much younger face than does the painting. In view of this engraving and of other newly reviewed facts, Mr. Bolton abandons the theory he had previously accepted from Dr. John Appleton,[3] that the painting in question was that of Nathanael Mather (1630–1697) of London, painted in 1682 and sent to Increase Mather in Boston.

A photo-engraving taken from a drawing of this painting of Samuel Mather, at Worcester, reproducing with the portrait the lettering seen in the background of the original, "Vivere est Cogitare" (which the Calamy engraving omits), is inserted in Horace E. Mather's Lineage of Richard Mather opposite the entry of Samuel Mather of Witney. There it is inscribed simply, "Rev. S. Mather." This is evidence that the genealogist, too, though he refrained from stating it explicitly, was of the opinion recently expressed by Mr. Bolton.[4]

Samuel and his wife had seven daughters, all but one of whom married. There were no sons, according to H. E. Mather's Lineage of Richard Mather. Samuel died in March, 1733. The Rev. Reece Answorth, Rector of St. Mary's Parish Church, Witney, on behalf of Mr. William Gwinn Mather, examined the records of the church in 1921, and after a nearly hopeless search found the entry of Samuel Mather's burial. It reads: "1733, March 14. Mr. Samuel Mather."

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[1] Portraits of the Founders, iii. 875–880, where the painting is reproduced.

[2] Cf. note 1 on page 319, *ante*.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, x. 45–46.

[4] In connection with the question of the Bocquet engraving of Samuel Mather for the 1802 Calamy, see K. B. Murdock, The Portraits, pp. 50–55. However, if the Townsend portrait of Samuel became shortly after 1802 the property of Samuel Mather's grandnicce Mrs. Hannah (Mather) Crocker of Worcester, Massachusetts, as Mr. Bolton supposes, then the Samuel Mather portrait owned in 1887 by Miss Jane Mather of Newcastle-on-Tyne may have been the original of the J. Simon mezzotint.

The prefix "Mr.," states the letter of Mr. Ainsworth, "indicates a person of some importance; all other entries omit it." That he delivered the Charge at the ordination of a minister — R. Milner at Wantage, Berkshire — "indicates too," Mr. Ainsworth says, "that Samuel Mather was held in high esteem."

It is as a Congregational minister taking part very ably and earnestly in the Arminian, Socinian, and other controversies of his day that Samuel Mather can best be studied — in his printed works.

He published eleven books, two of which are in Latin. Two others are abridgments of works by Cotton Mather. He condensed Cotton Mather's Magnalia but did not succeed in publishing it.[1] His first printed work was a preface in which he tells of his indebtedness to his deceased brother Nathanael. The titles of his books are as follows:

To the Reader, in Cotton Mather, Early Piety, Memoir of Nathanael Mather,	London, 1689
Observations on the Holy Scriptures . . . (anon.),	London, 1707
Discourse Concerning the Immortality of the Soul . . . (anon.),	London, 1712
De Ordinatione Dissertatio Historica . . . (anon.),	Londini, 1713
De Baptismate . . . Dissertatio. (anon.),	Londini, 1715
Compendious History of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation (anon.); (From Cotton Mather, Eleutheria),	London, 1715
A Letter to a Minister Giving Advice How to Act under Temptations (anon.),	London, 17(19?)
A Discourse Concerning the Necessity of Believing the . . . Trinity (anon.),	London, 1719
A Discourse Concerning the Godhead of the Holy Ghost . . . By Samuel Mather, Author of a Discourse Concerning the Necessity of believing the Trinity,	London, 1719
A Vindication of the Holy Bible. By Samuel Mather, A.M.,	London, 1723

[1] The copy as prepared by Samuel Mather for publication is now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. See Cotton Mather, Diary, ii. 88, 142–143.

Memoirs of the Life of Increase Mather (anon.); (From Cotton Mather's Parentator),[1]	London, 1724 and 1725
Charge Deliver'd at the Ordination of . . . R. Milner at Wantage, Berks, April 7. 1725. By Samuel Mather A.M.,	London, 1726

[1] This book has been sometimes attributed to Edmund Calamy, who wrote the Preface.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1926

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 25, 1926, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton of Shirley, Mr. Arthur Howland Buffinton of Williamstown, and Mr. Charles Eliot Goodspeed of Wollaston, were elected Resident Members, and Mr. Charles Evans of Chicago, Illinois, and Mr. Henry Crocker Kittredge of Concord, New Hampshire, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. Percival Merritt read a paper on

THE FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH IN BOSTON

The clearly defined and continuous history of the French Protestant Church in Boston begins with the arrival of the Rev. Pierre Daillé from New York, probably during the summer of 1696. He had, however, four predecessors who appear to have had some connection, albeit a slight one, with the French Huguenots in Boston.

Laurentius Van den Bosch

The first was Laurentius Van den Bosch (Laurence Vanderbush), who arrived in Boston early in 1685. He seems to have been a Frenchman, either by birth or by descent, who had lived in Holland, where his name, du Bois, had been changed to the Dutch equivalent.[1]

[1] Charles W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration to America, ii. 224. His name appears also as Lawrence Vandebost, Laurent Van den Bosck, Laurence Vandenbosk, Lambertus van der Bosch, Laurence van den Bosch, Vandenbosch, and Vanden Bosch.

He removed to England and obtained Anglican ordination in August, 1682.[1] He then went to Carolina, where he spent two years, and from there came to Boston. The earliest record of him in Boston is found in "A List of Seuerall psons returned to y^e^ Countie Courts at seuerall times not admitted nor aproued of by y^e^ selectmen of Boston to be Inhabitants of y^e^ Towne."[2] "1685 Apr. 9. Lawrence Vandebost a ffrench Minist^r^ at Andrew Marrines [Marriner's] that hath baptized & Marryed some persons here contrarie to Law."[3] Van den Bosch drew down upon himself a scathing comment from the dominant clerical party on account of his character and practices, as appears in the tract entitled A Vindication of New England.[4] W. C. Ford, in a paper on Ezéchiel Carré,[5] reproduces a letter from Van den Bosch to the Bishop of London,[6] July 4, 1685, in which he recalled to the Bishop the fact that he had received ordination at his hands "au premièr^e^ jour d'Aoust," for the purpose of being minister in Carolina, where he had remained for two years; that it

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[1] "Primo die Augusti 1682, Laurentius Van den Bosck Flandriae Natione in Sacros Diaconatus et presbyteratus Ordines fuit admissus." Ordination Book, 1675–1809, in Bishop of London's Registry, Doctor's Commons.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Report, x. 55.

[3] Id., x. 60. This appears to be a very early, if not the earliest, reference to marriage ceremonies performed by a clergyman in the colony. In the Memorial History of Boston, ii. 315, referring to the Rev. Charles Morton installed pastor of the Church in Charlestown, November 5, 1686, it is stated that "He was the first clergyman in this place to solemnize marriages, which previously to 1686 were performed by civil magistrates." In addition to the marriage recorded by Sewall as performed by Van den Bosch in September, 1685, cited below in the text (page 325), he also noted several marriages soon after the arrival in Boston, in May, 1686, of the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe of King's Chapel. "[1686] Tuesday, May 18. A great Wedding from Milton, and are married by Mr. Randolph's Chaplain, at Mr. Shrimpton's, according to the Service-Book, a little after noon, when Prayer was had at the Town-House: Was another married at the same time. The former was Vosse's Son. Borrowed a Ring. 'Tis said they having asked Mr. Cook and Addington, and they declining it, went after to the President and he sent them to the Parson." Diary, i. 139. "Wednesday, Sept^r^ 15, Mr. David Geffries marries Mrs. Betty Usher before Mr. Ratcliff." Diary, i. 152.

[4] Andros Tracts, Prince Society, ii. 36, 37, in a reprint of "A Vindication of New England." Mr. Murdock has clearly shown the erroneousness of previous attribution of the authorship of this tract to Increase Mather. K. B. Murdock, Increase Mather (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 225–227.

[5] W. C. Ford, Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston, in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, lii. 121–132.

[6] Henry Compton (1632–1713), Bishop of London from 1675 to 1713.

had been impossible for him to continue there because the French people could contribute nothing to his support. He had left Carolina for Boston, where he found cause for complaint on account of his treatment by the Independents, because he was a minister of the Church of England and endeavored to maintain its interests and its Liturgy. He had found himself in trouble and persecuted because he had performed marriages and baptisms. He also referred to the difficulty of attempting to establish a French Church on account of the scarcity of French people in Boston.[1] Under date of September 23, 1685, Sewall recorded in his Diary that "Laurence Vandenbosk Fr.[ench] Minister Marries [Giles] Sylvester and Widow Gillam; though had promis'd the Court to do no more such things: this about the beginning 7^{r}: is since gone to New York."[2] Daillé wrote from New York to Increase Mather on May 2, 1686, and again in July, interceding on behalf of the French in Boston that they should not suffer on account of the annoyances caused by Van den Bosch and his irregularities.[3] In his letter of July, 1686, Daillé also wrote that:

> he, contrary to pledges given, and to what is honorable and just, snatched away to himself two parts of our Church (which reside in the country); so that our Church, which, before the arrival of the above mentioned Vandenbosch was intimately joined together, and, so to speak, one heart and one soul, now went off into parts.[4]

Van den Bosch on his removal to New York had allied himself with the French Congregation, but had soon introduced dissension by drawing off those of its members who lived on Staten Island, and establishing a congregation of his own there.[5] The Reverend Henricus Selyns, minister of the Dutch Church in New York, wrote the Classis of Amsterdam on September 20, 1686, that "Many French refugees were filling up the churches there, (in America). Rev. Peter Daille, at New York, Rev. Lambertus van der Bosch, on Staten

[1] Ford, Ezekiel Carré, pp. 122, 123. Gay Transcripts, in Massachusetts Historical Society, State Papers, iii. 84.

[2] Diary, i. 98.

[3] Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration, Appendix, ii. 398–400.

[4] Id., Appendix, ii. 400.

[5] E. T. Corwin's Manual of the Reformed Church in America, p. 499, states that Van den Bosch was at Boston, 1685; Rye, 1686; Staten Island, 1686–1687; Kingston, 1687–1689. I have not been able to verify the statement as to Rye.

Island; and at Boston, Rev. Morpo, were ministers of that nationality." [1] He seems to have remained at Staten Island for about two years and then to have gone to the Church at Esopus.[2] It is impossible to establish dates with any satisfactory degree of accuracy. Contemporary records are meagre and statements by later writers are general and vague. It is probable that he went to the church at Esopus, or Kingston, in 1688, and remained there until some time in 1690, or possibly was in the vicinity, at least, until 1691.

In a Bill, dated at Windsor, August 19, 1688, for the purpose of making "free Denizens of this our kingdome of England" provided they live "within our kingdome, or elsewhere within our Dominions" there appears the name of "Lambert Bosch." [3] Whether this was Van den Bosch or not cannot be stated positively, but it seems not unlikely, in view of his position later on as Rector of an Anglican Church in a purely English Province, and of the fact that the Royal Governor of New York was on occasions applied to for Letters of Denization.

On July 31, 1690, the Dutch Church at Albany reported to the Classis of Amsterdam that "The minister at Esopus (Vandenbosch) is unfit for his office." [4] A month later, August 30, the Church of Kingston in a letter to the Classis referred to the

death of our very worthy minister, Domine Weeksteen; also that his place has again been supplied by Domine Laurentius Van den Bosch. But to our very great grief, we must say that he has, by his bad behavior, caused more wickedness than edification. It would be too tedious, to go into details. Domine Dellius,[5] who with others have been a Committee on this matter, can verbally inform your Reverences thereof. The business has taken such a shape that he has himself offered his resignation to the Consistory. This alone prevented a decision in his case. The said Van den Bosch is still here, and occasionally preaches in some house; but this only causes disputes and

[1] Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, ii. 936.

[2] Ira K. Morris, Memorial History of Staten Island, ii. 275, states that "For nearly two years — say 1687–8 — the Church at Stony Brook was supplied by a certain Laurentius Van den Bosch, or Van Bosen, as it was sometimes written." J. J. Clute, Annals of Staten Island, p. 256, gives the years as "1687 to 1689."

[3] Foreign Protestants, and Aliens, resident in England 1618–1688. Publications of the Camden Society, 1862, pp. 57–59.

[4] Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York, ii. 1003.

[5] Minister at Albany.

alienations. There is a great breach in our church, and only God knows how it is to be healed.[1]

The Rev. Mr. Selyns also wrote the Classis on September 14, 1690, that:

Domine Laurentius Van den Bosch, who was called from Staten Island to the Esopus, we found it necessary to suspend from the ministry for drunkenness and incivility; but he still continues to preach and to drink. Unless your Reverences in your official capacity, sustain us — for we in ourselves are without authority and quite powerless — by censuring said Vanden Bosch in an open Classical letter sent to us, it may be expected that all things will decline, and the disintegration of the Church continue.[2]

In course of time the Classis took up the subject of Selyns' letter, and referred it to the Deputati ad Res Maritimas to examine the Acta of the churches of New Netherland as to the government of the churches since they came under English rule, and to take action in accordance with the situation of affairs.[3] On June 27, 1691, the Deputati reported that they could find no instance of censure being passed on a minister in New Netherland, but that they found cases of dismissal by the local authorities without having asked the approval of the Classis.[4] Van den Bosch, however, settled the matter in his own way. The Rev. Messrs. Selyns, Varick, and Dellius wrote the Classis, October 12, 1692, that "Domine Vander Bosch, who was under censure, has left Esopus and gone to Maryland."[5] And on January 30, 1693, Mr. Selyns wrote the Classis on behalf of the Church of Kingston requesting them "to call a pious and orthodox minister in the place of Laurence van den Bosch, who was deposed on account of his unedifying life, and who has run away."[6]

Exactly when he made his appearance in Maryland is not known, but he was certainly there in 1692.[7] In that year the General Assembly of the Province of Maryland passed an Act for the establish-

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[1] Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 1005.
[2] Id., ii. 1007.
[3] Id., ii. 1020, 1021.
[4] Id., ii. 1021.
[5] Id., ii. 1043.
[6] Id., ii. 1083.
[7] Rev. Ethan Allen, Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish in Ann Arundel County, Maryland, p. 23: "At this time [1692] there appears to have been only four Church of England clergymen in Maryland — Mr. Crawford in St. Mary's, Mr. Moore in Charles, Mr. Lillingstone in Talbot, and Mr. Vanderbush in Cecil."

ment of the Protestant Religion in the Province which was signed June 2d.[1] The Act provided that the Commissioners of the various counties should lay out and divide their counties into parishes. On the 22d of November, 1692, the Commissioners of Cecil County divided their territory into two parishes, North and South Sassafras.[2] Johnston's History of Cecil County states that "The Rev. Laurence Vanderbush was then officiating in North Sassafras, and had probably been there for some time, for it is a matter of record that he administered a baptism on the 2d of July previous [1692], and during the year he baptized eighteen others. But little more is known of his history, only that he died in 1696, at which time he was also in charge of South Sassafras parish."[3] The Parish Church of North Sassafras was St. Stephen's, in what is now Earleville, and that of South Sassafras was St. Paul's, in Shrewsbury.[4] Some extracts have been published from the "Church Record of St. Paul's Parish, from 30th Jan'y 1693 to 11th April 1726."[5] Under the year 1694 is this entry: "9th d. 7th. Mr. Laurence Vanderbush having offered himself to officiate as Minister, was accepted at a salary of 800 lbs.[6] of tobacco per annum. Mr. John Leigh was appointed clerk of the Vestry."[7] The Church Records also show that Van den Bosch's successor was the Rev. Stephen Bordly, who was licensed by the Bishop of London to the Province of Maryland, and appointed by Governor Francis Nicholson, under date of June 23,

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[1] Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of Assembly, xiii. 425–430.

[2] Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of Council, viii. 474.

[3] George Johnston, History of Cecil County, Maryland, p. 207.

[4] The two Churches are about sixteen miles apart, the two parishes being divided by the Sassafras River. I am indebted to the Rev. Edmund Burk, a former Rector of North Sassafras Parish, for valuable information concerning the two parishes. St. Paul's, Shrewsbury, is now in the County of Kent.

[5] George A. Hanson, Old Kent of Maryland, p. 344.

[6] 800 lbs. in text but should be 8000 lbs. At a vestry meeting of St. Stephen's Church held January 20, 1693, "it was ordered that the sum of 12430 lbs. of tobacco, assessed this year upon this parish, by Act of Assembly, be disposed of as follows:

To the Minister, Mr. Lawrence Vanderbush	8000 lbs.
To the Sheriff for receiving tobacco	622 lbs.
To Thomas Pearce Clerk	800 lbs.
	9.422 lbs."

I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Burk for this citation from a History of St. Stephen's Parish by David P. Davis.

[7] Hanson, Old Kent, p. 345.

1697, to officiate as a clergyman of the Church of England in the Parish of St. Paul's.[1] There is no record as to the actual date of the death of Mr. Van den Bosch, but it was undoubtedly some time during the year 1696, as stated in the History of Cecil County.

David de Bonrepos

The Massachusetts Archives, under date of July 12, 1686, contain a record of the petition of the French Protestants, lately arrived from St. Christopher's, to live here and bring in their effects. It was ordered that upon taking the Oath of Allegiance they should be allowed to reside in his Majesty's dominions, and to proceed from hence and return hither as freely as any other of his Majesty's subjects.[2] It is believed that with them, or soon after, came the Rev. David de Bonrepos.[3] It is known that his brother, Elie de Bonrepos, was among the heads of families who came to this country from the Island of St. Christopher.[4] In the letter of the Rev. Henricus Selyns to the Classis of Amsterdam, September 20, 1686, which is cited above, he refers to the minister at Boston as the "Rev. Morpo." [5] While it is difficult to see how the name de Bonrepos could have become transmogrified into "Morpo" there is little doubt that this allusion is to David de Bonrepos.[6] This supposition is strengthened by the fact that ten years later, September 30, 1696, Selyns wrote "Domine Morpe (or Morpo) labors in the more distant places in the country," [7] at which time de Bonrepos is known to have been engaged in pastoral work outside of the city of New York.

He was still in Boston during the winter of 1687–88. In the Report of a French Protestant Refugee in Boston, containing letters written from Boston, November-December, 1687, an allusion is made to the fact that "M. de Bonrepos, Brother of our Minister, has

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[1] Hanson, Old Kent, p. 346. Record of a Vestry Meeting of St. Paul's, July 2, 1697.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, Council Executive Records, ii. 52.

[3] Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration, ii. 225.

[4] Id., i. 231, 232.

[5] See page 326, above.

[6] The name, in the transcript of the correspondence of the Classis, is said to be undecipherable. In Selyns' letters and the acknowledgments from Amsterdam and Haarlem, it appears as Morpo, Mageto, Moyro, and Morpe. Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York, ii. 936, 945, 948, 1172.

[7] Id., ii. 1172.

bought one [an English residence] fifteen Miles from here, and at one League from a very pretty Town, and where there is a great Trade, which they call Sallem . . ." [1] During the ministry of de Bonrepos in Boston permission was given by the Council of Massachusetts Bay to the French Protestants to make use of the Latin Schoolhouse for their religious services.[2] Some time in 1688 de Bonrepos removed to New Rochelle, where there were a number of refugees from St. Christopher.[3] Selyns informed the Classis of Amsterdam, October 10, 1688, that "About five hours from here, where Nova Rupella (New Rochelle) is laid out, and is building up, a new (French) minister (David Bon Repos) has arrived." [4]

Here he remained probably until 1696, when he became pastor of the Church at Staten Island, and also assumed the care of the church at New Palz. It is possible that his removal from New Rochelle may have taken place a year or two earlier, but the available, though scanty, evidence points to 1696.[5] The correspondence of Selyns with the Classis of Amsterdam shows that by September, 1696, at the latest, Daniel Bondet had succeeded to the charge of the Church at New Rochelle, and de Bonrepos [Morpo] was at work in the country.[6] C. W. Baird in an article on Pierre Daillé states

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[1] The Report of a French Protestant Refugee, Brooklyn, 1868, pp. 34, 35. It comprises a letter dated Boston, November 15–25, 1687, in which reference is made to Mr. Bondet as Minister in the Nicmock Country [i.e. Nipmuck Country, at Oxford, Mass.], and to Mr. Carré as minister at "Noraganzet" (Report, pp. 18, 19); and also a letter (undated but containing a reference to a previous letter, dated December 1, describing a journey to Narragansett), which has the reference to de Bonrepos, apparently written some time in December, 1687.

[2] November 24, 1687. "Liberty is granted to the French Congregation to meete in the Latine Schoolhouse att Boston as desired." Massachusetts Archives, Council Executive Records, ii. 155.

[3] Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration, i. 211.

[4] Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 959. It is not possible to determine whether the words within parentheses are part of the original letter or are an editorial interpolation.

[5] The Rev. Charles H. Stitt in his "Huguenots of New Palz," Collections Ulster Historical Society, i. part 3, p. 194, wrote that "We learn further from the Documentary History of New York, that David De Bonrepos was naturalized under the seal of the Province, February 6th, 1696." No volume or page reference is given, and I have been unable to verify this statement from the Documentary History.

[6] Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 1172, 1173. See sketch of Daniel Bondet, page 335, below.

that "Staten Island was now [1696] supplied with a pastor, De Bon Repos, who also succeeded Daillé in the charge of the church at New Palz." [1] The Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, in a Monograph on the Huguenots in America and their connection with the Church, wrote that de Bonrepos took charge of the church at New Palz in 1696, and that he was succeeded at New Rochelle by Bondet in "1694 or more probably in 1696." [2]

Mr. de Bonrepos seems to have remained at Staten Island until his death in 1734. His name appears as a witness to the will of a resident of Richmond County in 1713.[3] May 6, 1734, there was proved the will of "David de Bonrepos, Minister of the Holy Gospel, in the County of Richmond," the will itself being dated June 16, 1733.[4]

Ezéchiel Carré

Ezéchiel Carré, a native of the Isle of Ré, was admitted in 1670 to the study of philosophy and theology in the Académie of Geneva.[5] He became later pastor of two congregations in France, Mirambeau in Saintonge and La Roche Chalais in Guyenne.[6] When, in the autumn of 1686, a party of forty-five French Protestant families sailed for New England for the purpose of settling in the Narragansett Country, Carré accompanied them as their minister.[7] After the departure of de Bonrepos from Boston, Carré frequently preached to the French Congregation there, as did also Daniel Bondet, then at Oxford, Mass. Occasionally the pulpit was supplied by the Rev.

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[1] Magazine of American History, i. 96.

[2] W. S. Perry, History of American Episcopal Church, Boston, 1885, ii. 423, 424. The Rev. Mr. Wittmeyer was then Rector of the Church of the Saint Esprit, New York, and Secretary of the Huguenot Society of America.

[3] Collections New York Historical Society, 1893, Abstracts of Wills, ii. 127. Richmond County comprises all of Staten Island. Clute, Annals of Staten Island, p. 256, states that in 1717 de Bonrepos was obliged to give up his ministerial duties on account of the infirmities of age.

[4] Collections New York Historical Society, 1894, Abstracts of Wills, iii. 148. See also Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lii. 125 note 1.

[5] Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration, i. 304 note 1. (From the Livre du Recteur: Catalogue des Etudiants de l'Académie de Genève, de 1559 à 1859, p. 158.)

[6] Id., ii. 297.

[7] Id., ii. 170. See also Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lii. 125–128.

Nehemiah Walter, of the First Church in Roxbury, an accomplished French scholar.[1]

In W. C. Ford's paper on Carré he has given an interesting account of a tract printed by Samuel Green in 1690 and written "Par *Ezechiel Carre* cy deuant Ministre de la *Rochechalais* en *France*, â present Ministre de l'Eglise Francaise de *Boston* en la Nouvelle Angleterre."[2] It consists of an examination by Carré of a Catechism by a Jesuit Father, written in an Indian language, for the purpose of instructing the Indians on the principal points of religion, which aroused the antagonism of the French Protestant. Cotton Mather contributed a preface, and Carré addressed his introductory letter to "Messieurs Les Anciens de l'eglise Françoise de Boston." The title-page shows that he considered himself, and was regarded as, the minister of the French Congregation in Boston at that time.

In the summer of 1691 the French colony at Narragansett was broken up, and the various families, with the exception of two or three, removed to other places.[3] Seven went to Boston, others to Oxford, Milford, Connecticut, New Rochelle, and South Carolina, but the larger part went to New York, twenty-one of the names which were recorded in the Narragansett colony reappearing in the records of the French Church in New York.[4] As regards Carré himself there is no further record, and it is not known whether he returned to Europe or went to some other locality in America or the West Indies.

Daniel Bondet

The Records of the Council of Massachusetts Bay contain the following entry under date of August 5, 1686: "There are lately arrived fifteen French Familyes with a Religious Protestant Minister, who are in all Men, Women and Children, more than four score soules, and are such as fled from France for Religions sake, and by

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[1] Baird, ii. 226. Ford states that Carré preached a sermon "in the French Church at Boston" in 1689 on *The Charitable Samaritan* which "was translated by Nehemiah Walter and published by Samuel Green in that year." Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lii. 128.

[2] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, lii. 128–132. The title-page of the tract is reproduced at page 126.

[3] Baird, ii. 307.

[4] Id., ii. 310.

their long passage at sea, their Doctor & twelve Men are Dead" . . . Charity was solicited for these and other French refugees who were expected to arrive, and action was taken accordingly by the Council for their relief.[1] The Protestant Minister referred to in this record of the Council, is believed to be Daniel Bondet, who accompanied the French refugees to their settlement at Oxford, or New Oxford, in the Nipmuck Country. According to a statement, made to the Classis of Amsterdam, by the Rev. Henricus Selyns, September 30, 1696, he had formerly been a professor at the Protestant Academy of Saumur.[2] While in England, and shortly before his departure for this country, he was ordained a minister in the Anglican Church, as is shown by the records in the registry of the See of London: "13 day of April 1686 — On this day Daniel Bondet of France was admitted to holy orders as Deacon and Priest by the above written Lord Bishop" [3] [Henry Compton]. He also received an appointment from the Company for propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America to serve as their Missionary among the Indians.[4] The French settlement at Oxford was established either in the autumn of 1686, or the spring or summer of 1687.[5] A statement made by Bondet in a petition to Lord Cornbury in 1702 affords some presumption in favor of the earlier date:

I am a french Refugee Minister, incorporated into the body of the ministry of the Anglican Church; I removed about fifteen years ago

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[1] Council Executive Records, ii. 67.

[2] Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York, ii. 1172.

[3] Mary de W. Freeland, Records of Oxford, p. 167. When Mrs. Freeland received a translation of the record she was informed by the Bishop of London that "No less than 27 Frenchmen were ordained by the Bishop of London between Feb. 28, 1685, & Aug. 26, 1686, and all of them were made Deacons and Priests at the same time." He drew the inference that the French Clergy were ordained for service abroad since it was contrary to custom to ordain to both offices on the same day. (Id., p. 166.)

[4] Id., p. 149. This Society was also known as the Corporation for Promoting the Gospel among the Indians in New England and quite commonly was referred to as the New England Company. See our Publications, vi. 180 note 2, 181 note 1, and 506, for a detailed account of this Society and its various designations by Mr. Henry H. Edes.

[5] Abiel Holmes (3 Collections Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 1, 29 note) and George F. Daniels (The Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country, p. 67 and note 4) favor 1686. Baird (Huguenot Emigration, ii. 255) and Freeland (Records of Oxford, p. 149) give 1687.

[1686][1] into New England with a company of poor refugees to whom land was granted for their settlement, and to provide for my subsistence I was allowed one hundred and five pieces per annum from the funds of the corporation for the propagation of the Gospel among the Savages. I performed that duty during nine years with a success approved and attested by those who presided over the affairs of that Province. . . . I remained, after that, two years in that province expecting a favorable season for the reestablishment of affairs, but after waiting two years, seeing no appearance, and being invited to remove to this Province of New York by Col. Heathcote who always evinces an affection for the public good and distinguishes himself by a special application for the advancement of religion and good order, by the establishment of Churches and Schools, the fittest means to strengthen and encourage the People, I complied with his request and that of the company of New Rochelle in this province, where I passed five years on a small allowance promised me by New Rochelle. . . .[2]

At a Council meeting held at Fort William Henry June 29, 1702, it was ordered that Bondet's petition be referred to Colonel Caleb Heathcote for examination and report. He found:

that the Petitioner was employed about fifteen years ago by the corporation for Propagating the Xtian ffaith amongst the Indians at a place called New Oxford near Boston, . . . Dureing the time of his stay there, which was about eight years, it appears by a certificate under the hands of the late Lieut. Governour Stoughton of Boston, Wait Winthrope, Increase Mather, and Charles Morton, that he with great faithfullnesse care & industry discharged his duty both in reference to Xtians & Indians, and was of an unblemished life and Conversation.[3]

Bondet's statement in his petition in 1702 that he had been "during nine years" at Oxford, two years in the Province, and five years at New Rochelle, sixteen years in all, would locate him at Oxford in 1686. Heathcote repeats his statement as to "about fifteen years," but refers to his stay at Oxford as about eight years instead of nine,

[1] Interpolation by the editor of the Ecclesiastical Records.

[2] Ecclesiastical Records, iii. 1493. Documentary History of New York, 8.vo, iii. 929, 930. Daniels, Nipmuck Country, pp. 120, 121. The object of the petition was for relief on account of the loss of an allowance, and of a pension, of which he had been deprived on account of having incurred the displeasure of the Earl of Bellomont.

[3] Ecclesiastical Records, iii. 1494. Documentary History of New York, 8vo, iii. 931.

which would seem partially contradictory of Bondet's statement. But by June, 1702, he had been for nearly six years at New Rochelle, a fact with which Heathcote was thoroughly familiar, so that allowing eight years for Oxford, six years for New Rochelle, and two years for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, or sixteen years in all, the correspondence with Bondet's statement is exact. Both statements, however, are so general that it is not possible to draw definite conclusions. The same difficulty arises in attempting to determine the exact time when Bondet left Oxford. The settlement was temporarily broken up by an Indian massacre which took place in August, 1696.[1] Bondet had withdrawn from the colony some time before this and removed to Boston. His successor, Rev. James Laborie, in presenting a petition, dated October 1, 1699, to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay on behalf of the inhabitants who had resettled at Oxford in 1699, wrote:

Mr. Bondet, formerly minister of this town, not only satisfied to leave us almost two years before the Indians did commit any act of hostility in this place, but carried away all the books which had been given for the use of the plantation, with the acts and papers of the village, we most humbly supplicate your Excellency and the most Honorable Council to oblige Mr. Bondet to send back again said books, acts, and papers belonging to said plantation.[2]

From this statement it is supposed that he removed to Boston some time in the autumn of 1694, where he remained until 1696, during which period it is probable that he ministered to the needs of the French congregation.[3] Some time in 1696 Bondet took charge of the French Church at New Rochelle at the suggestion of Col. Heathcote.[4] On September 30, 1696, the Rev. Mr. Selyns wrote the Classis of Amsterdam that:

Domine Brodet, (Bondet,) who was formerly professor at Salmur, (Saumur,) and who has lived and preached for eight years among the

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[1] Daniels, Nipmuck Country, pp. 83–85.

[2] Id., pp. 88, 89.

[3] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 226. Memorial History [of Boston, ii. 252 note 3. For Bondet's removal to Boston in 1694 see also Daniels, Nipmuck Country, p. 82, and Freeland, Records of Oxford, p. 149.

[4] See above, page 334.

Indians, has been called to New Rochelle, five hours from here, where he gives great satisfaction by his gifts and holy life.[1]

His ministrations there were for the benefit both of the French and the English. On June 21, 1699, he signed a testimonial, with several other ministers, in behalf of the Rev. Mr. Dellius, and described himself as "Minister of the French and English Church at New Rochelle, and Assistant Teacher of the Indians." [2] Ten years later, June 6, 1709, the members of the Church together with Mr. Bondet addressed a letter to Col. Caleb Heathcote asking him:

to assist us with your presence and directions, that we may come to some terms of resolution for to have our church in full conformity with the National Church of England; and for to have the protection and assistance of the Rulers and encouragers of the same, that the service of God may be established in our place according to that holy rule[3] . . .

It is not improbable that Heathcote, who was an active Churchman, had been instrumental in bringing about this expression of a desire for conformity. At all events he conferred with them as requested and under date of June 13, 1709, reported the matter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts with his favorable recommendation.[4] It is evident, however, that at a somewhat earlier period this subject had been brought directly to the attention of the authorities in England, as is shown by the wording of the commission from the Lieut. Governor of New York to Bondet to be the Anglican minister of New Rochelle:

The bearer hereof M^{r} Daniell Bondett an Orthodox Minister of the Church of England having laid before me the Orders of y^{e} Right Honoble and Right Reverend ffather in God Henry [Compton] by Divine mission Lord Bishop of London and Diocesan of this Province to officiate in your Church and Parrish according to y^{e} Rules & Constitution of the Church of England as by Law Established bearing date June 16th 1709, as also a Letter from y^{e} Venerable Society for propagation of y^{e} Gospel in fforeign parts bearing date June 6th with an Extract of their Journal June 3, 1709 Constituting and Appointing him one of their Missionaries and a Yearly Sallary for his Service in Your Church.

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[1] Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 1172, 1173.
[2] Id., ii. 1321.
[3] Id., iii. 1750, 1751.
[4] Id., iii. 1751.

You are therefore hereby directed to receive him as such. Given und^r my Hand & Seal this ninth day of November in the Eighth year of y^e Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne of Great Brittain &c Annoq: Dni 1709. Rich^d Ingoldesby.[1]

The records of the Venerable Society show that:

At New Rochelle the Society in 1709 met the wishes of a settlement of French Protestants for conformity with the Church of England by adopting their Minister the Rev. D. Bondet, and instructing him to use the English Liturgy; whereupon the people generally conformed. . . . Mr. Bondet (1709–21) had a large congregation. . . .[2]

After a pastorate at New Rochelle covering a period of twenty-six years Mr. Bondet died either late in August or early in September, 1722.[3] His will, which was dated March 24, 1722, and proved September 21, 1722, constituted as his sole heir Lieutenant Oliver Besly, Jr., of New Rochelle, and provided that all his books should be given for "the use of the Church at New Rochelle."[4]

Pierre Daillé

Pierre Daillé, who had been a professor in the Academy of Saumur and became an exile from France on account of his religion, came to New York from Holland some time during the year 1682. In a sketch of Daillé, published in 1877, the Rev. Charles W. Baird wrote that:

In 1682 Domine Henricus Selyns came from Holland to take sole charge of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York. With him, or soon after him, Pierre Daillé arrived there. An eminent authority states that he was engaged by the Consistory of that Church to come and preach to the French.[5]

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[1] Documentary History of New York, 8^vo, iii. 941.

[2] Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, p. 59. In the tabulated list of Missionaries is this entry: "Bondet, Daniel, (a French Minister driven out of France); *o.* Bp. Lon., and employed under the New England Company. *S.* New Rochelle, 1709–1722. Died 1722." (Id., p. 855.)

[3] Bondet was named as a beneficiary to the amount of £10 in the will of Elias Neau, merchant, of New York, which was dated August 15, and proved September 17, 1722. Collections New York Historical Society, 1893, Abstracts of Wills, ii. 255.

[4] Id., Abstracts of Wills, ii. 255, 256.

[5] Magazine of American History, i. 91.

In his Monograph on the Huguenots in America, the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, Secretary of the Huguenot Society of America, wrote that "in 1682, the project of founding a permanent French Church at New York was successfully resumed by the Rev. Pierre Daillé, who has been very appropriately called the Apostle of the Huguenots in America." Mr. Wittmeyer also stated that while Daillé was in Holland he received a call from the Dutch Church of New York, which never forgot the religious interests of the Huguenots, and that his mission was to preach to his brethren who were scattered through the Province.[1] His relation to Selyns, and the nature of his functions, are clearly set forth in a letter from Selyns to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated October 21–31, 1683:

Domine Peter Daille, formerly Professor at Salmurs, (Saumur, France,) has become my colleague. He exercises his ministry in the French Church here. He is full of zeal, learning and piety. Exiled for the sake of his religion, he now devotes himself here to the cause of Christ with untiring energy. Rev. John Gordon has come over from England, to perform service for the English. His English service is after my morning service, and the French service is after my afternoon service.[2]

Some months earlier, May 8–18, 1683, Selyns had written to the Boston ministers, with whom he always maintained friendly relations, that:

I am alone, and alone am ministering in sacred things to this church and to circumjacent churches, by preaching three times every week in this city, and in some [weeks] oftener elsewhere; except the Reverend Mr Daillé, who forsook France on account of persecution, and who preaches [to the French], and Mr Peter Van Zuuren, who is a promulgator of the oracles of God in certain country places. They are men of similar life and faith.[3]

The Rev. Charles H. Stitt in his article on the "Huguenots of New Palz" states that the church of New Palz was organized by Daillé, and that the first entry in the Records of the Church is as follows:

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[1] Perry, History of American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883, ii. 418. Mr. Wittmeyer was doubtless the "eminent authority" cited by Baird.

[2] Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 866, 867. The Rev. John Gordon preceded, as Chaplain at the Fort in New York, the Rev. Josias Clarke, who in 1686 became the assistant minister at King's Chapel, Boston.

[3] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 397. Translation of a letter in the Mather Papers in the Boston Public Library.

Jan. 22d, 1683, Mr. Pierre Daille, minister of the word of God, arrived at New Palz, and preached twice on the Sunday following, and proposed to the families to choose by a majority of the votes of the fathers of families an Elder and Deacon, which they did, and chose Louis Dubois for Elder, and Hugh Freer for Deacon, to aid the minister in the management of the members of the Church meeting at New Palz, who were then confirmed to the said charge of Elder and Deacon. The present minute has been made to put in order the things which pertain to the said Church.[1]

Daillé's ministry in New York City, and the adjacent country places, continued about fourteen years, during which time the correspondence of Selyns and the other Dutch ministers with the Classis of Amsterdam contains frequent references to him. But gradually his field of labor seems to have become curtailed. Van den Bosch, as we have seen above, established an independent congregation on Staten Island. De Bonrepos, after serving some years at New Rochelle, removed to Staten Island, and also assumed charge of the church at New Palz. The Rev. Pierre Peiret, who arrived in New York in the latter part of 1687, came in course of time to have the special charge of the church in the city.[2] It is generally stated that

[1] Collections Ulster Historical Society, i. part 3, pp. 191, 192. Baird (Magazine of American History, i. 93) makes a similar statement as to the organization of the church but gives the date as June 22, 1683. This may be accounted for on the supposition that the month is not legibly written in the records. But in a statement under date of October 18, 1750, made by the Church of New Palz when involved in a controversy with the Church of Kingston, an entirely different month is given "For, as early as August 22nd, 1683, under Monsieur Pierre Daille there were elected and installed an elder and deacon — Louis Du Bois as elder and Aughe Frere as deacon, as appears from their Church-Book." Ecclesiastical Records, iv. 3142. The variation in the month would be of little importance except for the fact that if January 22 is correct it furnishes the earliest reference to Daillé in this country, and establishes his arrival as being in 1682. The following extract from R. Lefevre, History of New Palz (Albany 1903), p. 136, would seem to be decisive in favor of the earlier date provided that the French record has been correctly transcribed. Referring to the Church records, it reads that "The first entry is as follows in the handwriting of Louis Du Bois: 'Le 22 de Janv. (Janvier), 1683 monsieur pierre daillie, minister de la parole de dieu, est arive (arrive) au nouveau palitinat etc.'"

[2] Magazine of American History, i. 95. Perry, History of American Episcopal Church, ii. 419. Selyns, Varick, and Dellius wrote the Classis, October 12, 1692: "Meanwhile, we must not omit to inform your Reverences, that the two French churches (New York and New Palz) have been united, and that Domine Perrot will generally preach here in the city, while Domine Daillé will generally preach in the country." Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 1043.

Daillé accepted a call from the French Church in Boston and removed there in 1696. The Rev. Henricus Selyns wrote the Classis of Amsterdam, September 30, 1696, that "Domine Daillé, recently the French minister here, has been called to Boston, and ministers in the French church there. Domine Perrot, a man of great learning, formerly a minister in France, now serves the Church of God here." [1] This statement would seem sufficiently explicit to establish the year of Daillé's removal, and as a matter of fact there is no known record of his being in Boston prior to 1696. But nearly three years earlier the Rev. Messrs. Selyns and Rudolphus Varick wrote the Classis under date of November 20, 1693, "Domine Daille, the French minister, is called to Boston, and is going there. Domine Perrot will therefore take charge of the French services both in the city and the country." [2] This letter suggests the possibility of a removal to Boston earlier than 1696. Mr. Wittmeyer wrote in regard to Daillé's connection with the Church at Staten Island that he continued to serve until 1694, with the exception of two years during which he had been supplanted by Van den Bosch.[3] Mr. Baird stated that Daillé's last visit to the Church at New Palz appears to have been made in April, 1694.[4] Still all writers on this subject give the year 1696 without qualification, and in absence of any positive evidence to the contrary attention can only be called to the possibility.

The earliest record which is found of Daillé in Boston is of September 4, 1696, when he certified as "Daillé Ministre" to the marks of certain French refugees from Oxford affixed to a petition in favor of Gabriel Bernon.[5] Cotton Mather, in the Magnalia, in his list of Suffolk County ministers, "at this present Year 1696," includes "a *French* Congregation of Protestant *Refugees*, under the Pastoral

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[1] Ecclesiastical Records, ii. 1172.

[2] Id., ii. 1089.

[3] Perry, History of American Episcopal Church, ii. 422.

[4] Magazine of American History, i. 95. But Mr. Stitt in Collections Ulster Historical Society, i. part 3, p. 192, wrote that Daillé's last recorded service at New Palz was a marriage ceremony performed April 18, 1692. The records of the Church of the Saint Esprit, New York, show that Daillé performed baptisms May 30, and June 11, 1693, and a marriage ceremony May 31, 1693. Collections Huguenot Society of America, i. 28.

[5] Freeland, Records of Oxford, pp. 160, 161.

Cares of Monsieur *Daille*." [1] Esther, the first wife of Pierre Daillé, died during this year and her death is recorded under date of December 14.[2]

Daillé's pastorate, which continued for nineteen years, appears to have been a successful one. His relations with the Congregational ministers in Boston and with the inhabitants in general were friendly, and his position in the community was well established both by reason of his learning and his exemplary life.[3] Although this was the most successful period of the French Church, it was not without its difficulties owing to the poverty and paucity of its members. In June, 1700, the Elders of the Church, Rawlings, Chardon, and Grignion, petitioned Governor Bellomont and the Council for aid because many of their people had left, or were about leaving, Boston, and stated that they needed assistance to enable them to maintain their minister.[4] It seems probable that this petition was forwarded to England and brought to the attention of the King, for on October 24, 1701, Francis Foxcroft petitioned the Council for the remission of all duties on European commodities to the value of £300 sterling, the gift of his Majesty for the use of the French Church.[5]

As has been stated above, the French Protestants were granted by the Council, as early as November, 1687, permission to use the Latin Schoolhouse for the purposes of their religious services.[6] By 1704 they had acquired a piece of land in what is now School Street and wished to build a church of their own. The Minutes of the Council of January 12, 1704[–5] contain this record:

Upon a Representation made by Mr Daille Minister and the Elders of the French Protestant Church in Boston, That his late Majesty King William had bestowed on them Eighty-three pounds to be Imploy'd towards building them a House for the publick worship of God, Setting

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[1] Magnalia, ed. 1820, book i. 80.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Report, ix. 230.

[3] See Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 226–239, for a detailed account of his ministry in Boston.

[4] Massachusetts Archives, xi. 150. Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 235, states that in response to this petition it was ordered that "there be paid unto their Minister Twelve pounds out of the Publick Treasury."

[5] Id., xi. 165. This petition was read in the House, February 25, 1701[–2], and sent to the Council, which concurred on the same day.

[6] See p. 330 note 2, above.

forth, That they have purchased a peice of Land in Schoolhouse Lane in Boston for that use, Praying to be Licensed to aske & receive the Benevolence of well disposed persons that shall be willing to Encourage so pious a worke to assist them in the said Building. Advised That License be accordingly granted & the money's thereby collected to bee put into the hands of Simeon Stoddard Esq^{r} and to be Applyed for the use afores^{d} and no other. And the House when built to be forever continued and Improved for religious worship.[1]

Upon application to the Selectmen of Boston the Church officers received an unfavorable response. At a meeting of the Selectmen on January 29, 1705, it had been resolved that the congregation of French Protestants having for some years past held their public meetings in the Free Schoolhouse, and for some months past had met in another convenient room, while the old Schoolhouse was taken down and a more commodious one built, the new house now having been finished the congregation was given liberty to meet in it as they had formerly done in the old one.[2] At the next meeting, held on February 7, it was recorded that the French Congregation having petitioned for a license to erect with timber a building for a meeting-house, thirty-five by thirty feet on Schoolhouse Lane, the Selectmen had consulted with the major part of the Justices of the Town. They declared it to be their opinion that it should not be granted since the French had the offer of liberty to meet in the New Schoolhouse, "that being Sufficient for a far greater number of persons than doth belong to their Congregation," and accordingly the Selectmen disallowed the petition.[3] By reason of this decision the meeting-house was not built until after the death of Daillé.

In September, 1706, a letter and petition were prepared by Daillé for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, asking for assistance and stating that "It is proper that a minister try every resource before forsaking his flock."[4] The petition was forwarded to the Secretary of the Society by Governor Dudley in October, 1706, with his recommendation of the appeal. The Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of King's Chapel, and Christopher Bridge, the King's

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[1] Massachusetts Archives, lxxxi. 472, 473.
[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Report, xi. 42.
[3] Id., xi. 43.
[4] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. Appendix, p. 401.

Lecturer, also wrote endorsing the application.[1] But the reply of the Society was unfavorable: "Mr. Daillé had not been sent out under its auspices, nor was his congregation 'conformable to the Church of England.'" [2]

During the remaining years of his life there is little to note, either in regard to him or to the Church. Sewall refers to him occasionally; once in 1706 as attending a burial in the company of the Rev. Mr. Colman.[3] In 1713 he was one of the clerical pall-bearers, together with the Rev. Messrs. Wadsworth, Pemberton, and Colman, at the funeral of the second wife of Cotton Mather.[4] On April 14, 1715, Sewall wrote: "I visit Mr. Peter Daillie, who seems to be in a languishing dying Condition; has kept house about 8. weeks." [5] He died on May 20, 1715, at the age of sixty-six, and was buried in the Granary Burying Ground.[6] By his will he gave his French and Latin books to the French Church as a library for the perpetual use of its ministers. He also left £100, the interest thereof to be used for the support of the minister for the time being, and £10 for the use of the Church when its Meeting-House should be erected.[7]

Andrew (André) Le Mercier

Andrew Le Mercier was a native of Caen in Normandy, and a graduate of the Academy of Geneva.[8] In the year in which his pre-

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[1] Perry, Historical Collections, iii. 80, 81. Mr. Bridge, in his letter, referred to Daillé as having been Episcopally ordained. There is no evidence to substantiate this statement. It is possible that he may have confused him with Daniel Bondet who had been so ordained. It is not probable that Dudley, Myles, and Daillé himself would have omitted to mention it if it had been a fact.

[2] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 236.

[3] Diary, ii. 153. [4] Id., ii. 407. [5] Id., iii. 45.

[6] Boston News Letter, May 23, 1715, p. 2/2: "On Friday Morning last the 20th Currant, Dyed here the Reverend Mr. *Peter Daille*, Pastor of the French Congregation, Aged about 66 Years. He was a Person of great Piety, Charity, Affable and Courteous Behavior, and of an Exemplary Life and Conversation, much Lamented, especially by his Flock; and was Decently Interr'd on the Lords Day Evening the 22d Instant." See also Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 237; Memorial History of Boston, ii. 252, and note 6. The inscription on his tombstone gives the date of his death as May 21. N. B. Shurtleff, Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, p. 224.

[7] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, ii. 238 note.

[8] See our Publications, xvii. 220 note 3. Le Mercier's name appears in the Catalogue of the Academy of Geneva in the year 1712 under the heading of "Theologiae candidati."

decessor, Pierre Daillé, died, 1715, Le Mercier, then about twenty-three years of age, entered into a contract in London with Andrew Faneuil of Boston, to become the pastor of the French Church at an annual salary of one hundred pounds New England currency.[1] He reached Boston before the end of the year and entered upon his pastoral duties. In the following year the long delayed church building was erected, a brick edifice, on School Street, and was employed as a place of worship by the French congregation until the sale of the property in 1748. While he probably was not the equal of Daillé, either as a man of learning or as a preacher, he appears to have had a fairly successful pastorate. In course of time, however, his congregation diminished and finally became a very small body, doubtless owing to the removal of French Protestants from the city, and also to their gradual absorption into the community at large, and to their allying themselves with other religious bodies. In 1730 he, with several others, petitioned the General Court to be admitted to the privileges of citizenship, which accordingly was granted to them. In 1732 he published in Boston his Church History of Geneva together with a Political and Geographical Account of the Republic of Geneva. In the following year he also published a Treatise against Detraction. In the latter volume, in his Dedication to the Elders and others of the French Church, he wrote:

You have not despised my Youth, when I first came among you; you have since excused my Infirmities, and as I did the same in respect to yours, it has pleased our Saviour, the Head of his Church, to favour us with an uninterrupted Peace and Union in our Church for the almost eighteen Years, that I have preached the Word of Salvation to you. By that blessed Peace, our Flock tho' exceeding small, hath subsisted, and even is enlarged by the addition of some who were once the Opposers of our Doctrine, I mean *Roman Catholicks*, several of whom have been here converted by the preaching of GOD's Word; and also by the addition of some Protestants of other Nations.[2]

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[1] Brief Memoir of Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, New England Historical Genealogical Society, xiii. 315, 319. The account of Le Mercier which follows, unless otherwise noted, is based on this Memoir, pp. 315–324, in volume xiii of the Society's publications. Cf. Memorial History of Boston, ii. 255–258; and Baird's Huguenot Emigration, ii. 239–245.

[2] Treatise against Detraction in Ten Sections, page v. See also our Publications, xvii. pp. 118–120, for an account of a rare pamphlet entitled "Some Obser-

Le Mercier also manifested a philanthropic and humanitarian interest in affairs outside the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The Gay Transcripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society contain a copy of a proposal, addressed by him from Boston, September 28, 1729, to the Governor of Nova Scotia, Richard Phillips, for settling a colony of one hundred families of French Protestants in Nova Scotia if they should have sufficient encouragement granted to them. He desired for this purpose an allotment of lands, temporary exemption from taxes, an annual allowance of £80 sterling for the support of a minister for four years, and that the colonists might be brought over from London in naval vessels.[1] On November 25, 1729, Major Cope, one of the Governor's Council, replied to Le Mercier that the Governor was favorable to his project and that he would recommend it to the authorities in England.[2] Apparently nothing resulted from the proposed plan as there is no further reference to it. Some years later, March, 1738, he applied to the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia for a grant of the Isle of Sables, stating that he had stocked the island, built a house, and established a few men there. He represented that in case of shipwrecks it would be of great advantage to have the island settled and cattle there for the benefit of the victims of disasters. The petition was referred in April, 1738, to the Lords of Trade as coming from "M^{r}. Le Mercier a ffrench Minister in Boston (who calls himself an English Man by naturalisation)."[3] That his petition was granted is shown by an advertisement, signed by

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vations upon the French Tongue," Boston, 1724, printed by B. Green. While the name of the author does not appear on the title-page, the Dedication is signed A. L. M., as is the Dedication to the Church History of Geneva, and it seems probable that Le Mercier was the author. The Minutes of the Selectmen of Boston contain the following entry, under date of January 16, 1733[–4]: "Mess^{rs} Boutineau and Johonnot with others applying to us, On acco^{t} of the School lately under the care of Mr. Samuel Grainger Deceased, which is become vacant by the Death of Mr. Grainger. And his Son Thomas Grainger being some time Usher to his Father who had Several Boarders, Desire, That his Son Thomas Grainger may have Leave to carry on the School for Three Months under the Inspection of Mr. Andrew Le Mercier. Voted, that upon Condition Mr. Le Mercier takes the Oversight of the School, that Mr. Grainger have Liberty to Instruct the Youth for Three Months." Boston Record Commissioners' Report, xiii. 248, 249.

[1] Gay Transcripts, Nova Scotia Papers, iv. 91–94.

[2] Id., iv. 97, 98.

[3] Id., v. 113–118.

him, in the Boston Evening Post, January 30, 1744.[1] In it he recited that the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia in April, 1738, had issued a proclamation forbidding all persons from hindering his settling on the island, and prohibiting the killing or taking any of the cattle or goods which he sent there. Also in the same year the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay had, at his request, published a similar proclamation to protect his life-saving station, which he described as a "Sea-Hospital." But inasmuch as "the *love of Money*, which *is the Root of all Evil*, is so deeply rooted in the Hearts of some Fishermen, that they have sundry times stole our Cattle & our Goods, regarding neither the Laws of God or of Man, neither Justice to me, or Humanity to Shipwreck'd Men, which by their Wickedness they endeavour to starve" . . . he offered a reward of £40, old tenor, "to any Person or Persons not belonging to the Island of *Sables*, that shall discover said Robbers."

These proclamations apparently were not effective, for it became necessary to publish a notice in the Boston News Letter of February 26, 1747,[2] increasing the reward to £100 old tenor, for the discovery of those who still continued to steal the cattle and plunder the island. This advertisement closed as follows:

N.B If any Families of well minded Persons are inclined to go and settle there (even upon a Tryal) they shall have all reasonable and sufficient Encouragement from us. And whereas the Lonesomeness of the Place is almost the only Difficulty that may attend that Settlement, We make it known that some Families have already expressed their Willingness of settling there: They may know further by Enquiring of us the Subscribers. [Signed] Andrew Le Mercier Henry Atkins Thomas Hancock.

The project seems to have been completely abandoned after a time, for in an advertisement inserted in the News Letter of February 8, 1753,[3] the island was offered for sale by "Andrew Le Mercier, Pastor of the French Church."

By 1748 the French Congregation had become so reduced in numbers that they sold their Church Building to the New Light Congregation over which the Rev. Andrew Croswell was installed pastor in October of that year. The deed of the Church was given in May,

[1] P. 3/1. Printed in full in the Memoir, pp. 317, 318.
[2] P. 2/2. [3] P. 2/2.

1748, for the sum of £3000, old tenor, and it was stipulated that the property should remain "for the sole use of a Protestant Church . . . for the worship of Almighty God, from henceforth and forevermore." Notwithstanding this stipulation it became in 1788 the home of the first Roman Catholic Church in Boston. The deed to the New Light Congregation was not recorded until April, 1749, and in the interval Le Mercier laid claim to the property as his own and entered into negotiation with Edward Jackson to become the purchaser. Jackson being doubtful as to the title, Le Mercier petitioned the General Court in November, 1748, for its sanction of the proposed sale. He recited that the male communicants and subscribers in the Church were reduced to about seven; that they were no longer able to maintain him and his four children; and that since the dissolution of the Church was unavoidable and that consequently there were no successors "the said House & Land is the Soil and Freehold of your pet^{r}." He also stated that as he considered it his duty to minister to the few remaining members of the congregation so long as they should require, he would, at his own charge, "provide a decent apartment for their Meeting every Lords day." The Court found apparently that his contention as to the law was sound, but ordered on November 17, 1748, that he should serve Messrs. Boutineau, Arnold, Brown, Zachariah and Andrew Johonnot, and Paquinet, with a copy of the petition that they might show cause, if any, why the prayer should not be granted. They entered a vigorous protest reciting the terms on which Le Mercier was settled among them, and the moneys which he had received by bequests or gifts. They also stated that:

> he has driven all our Young People to Other Churches, notwithstanding we wish him well, & design, if we sell our Church, to Give him out of it about £1650, old tenor; but for him to Sell our Church, that we with our own Money have Built and Purchased, and so to turn us out of our Church, will be a President never before heard of, and if allowed of, Will be of a dangerous Consequence.

They therefore prayed that the petition be dismissed, which undoubtedly was the case since the sale to the Congregational Society was consummated.[1] Mr. Le Mercier evidently put into execution

[1] The deed of the church was dated May 7, 1748; acknowledged by the French, March 7, 1748[–9]: and recorded April 10, 1749. Suffolk Deeds, Lib. 76, fol. 128, 129. In 1751 Stephen Boutineau, as the only surviving elder of the late

in the following year his plan of still ministering to those of the French who desired his services. The Minutes of the Selectmen under date of March 15, 1748[–9] show that:

The Rev^{d} m^{r} Andrew Le Mercier appeared & desired to have the Liberty for the French Congregation which are at present but small, to meet in the South Grammer School in Order for Carrying on the Publick Worship on the Lords Days, as they are deprived of a place to meet in at present. Voted, That Liberty be Granted for them to Meet in the said School house accordingly.[1]

He died at his home in Roxbury, where he had bought land in 1722, on March 31, 1764, in his seventy-second year, according to a notice in the Boston Gazette of April 2, 1764.[2] His will, which was dated November 7, 1761, was proved June 15, 1764.

Mr. GEORGE P. ANDERSON communicated

A NOTE ON EBENEZER MACKINTOSH

A brief but interesting reference to Ebenezer Mackintosh of Boston, the Stamp Act rioter and patriot, of whom I spoke in some detail in March, 1924,[3] is contained in "The Origin & Progress of the *American* Rebellion to the year 1776 in a Letter to a Friend." This is a manuscript written in London, March 1, 1781, by Peter Oliver.[4] The text was written at the request of Thomas Whately of London, and he is the "Friend" to whom it is addressed.[5]

French Church in Boston, executed a quitclaim deed to a warehouse which had been bequeathed to the church by Andrew Faneuil. The deed was signed July 10, and recorded August 2, 1751, and recited that "Whereas the said Church is now absolutely and finally ceased and utterly dissolved and their meeting-house sold" the warehouse reverted to the Faneuil heirs. Suffolk Deeds, Lib. 80, fol. 42.

[1] Boston Records, xvii. 213.

[2] P. 3/1. [3] Pages 15–64, above.

[4] Egerton Manuscript 2671, in the British Museum. My quotations are from a copy in the Gay Transcripts in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[5] Thomas Whately was intensely interested in the American colonies. During his life he was a member of Parliament, a member of the Board of Trade, and was Secretary of the Treasury under George Grenville. A number of letters, sent to England in 1768 and 1769 by Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hutchinson, and Charles Paxton, and made public in Boston with disastrous effects upon their popularity, were written to Whately. Hutchinson esteemed Whately very highly and on April 24, 1771, named a town in Franklin County in his honor. The town still retains the name of Whately.

What Peter Oliver has to say about Mackintosh is especially significant because he had unusual opportunities to know about Mackintosh's activities as a Son of Liberty, and as a mob leader in the Stamp Act period. It is important likewise to understand who Peter Oliver was. He was the son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Belcher) Oliver, and a descendant of Elder Thomas Oliver, who was among the early settlers in Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was born in Boston, March 26, 1713, and graduated at Harvard College in 1730. His home was in Middleborough. By social ties and by conviction he was early attached to the Crown party, and so was his equally unpopular brother, Andrew Oliver, who was Secretary of the colony for fourteen years, and was Lieutenant Governor from 1771 to 1774. Peter Oliver, after holding several offices, including that of Justice of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for Plymouth County, in 1756 was made a justice of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, then the highest court in the colony, and in 1772 was appointed Chief Justice of that court.

Oliver was learned in the law, was a gifted writer of both prose and poetry, but in politics he was violently opposed to the liberal or patriot party. Just before the Revolution he refused to accept the salary voted him by the General Court, preferring to receive payment through the British Crown. On account of this refusal he was impeached and removed from office in 1775. So incensed were the patriots over his attitude on public questions that he did not dare to attend the funeral of his brother Andrew.

When the Revolution broke out Oliver sought the protection of General Gage and the Loyalist troops and when Boston was evacuated in March, 1776, he sailed with the British to Halifax and later went to England, where he lived the rest of his life on a pension from the British Crown. His estate in Massachusetts was confiscated. He died in Birmingham, England, October 13, 1791.

The observations of Peter Oliver about himself and about the funeral of his brother Andrew are of particular value in revealing the state of public feeling. When Andrew Oliver died, on March 3, 1774, he was Lieutenant Governor, and the funeral arrangements were formal and such as were fitting for an official of high rank. It was decided that the Cadets, which were under the command of

John Hancock, should attend the funeral and fire three volleys over the grave in the Old Granary Burying Ground. As soon as the details of this arrangement were publicly known, Samuel Adams sharply protested to Hancock, declaring it most improper that a man whose administration and whose whole public career had been so highly objectionable to the people, should be honored by the Cadets. Hancock did not agree with Adams on this point, and replied that the attendance of the military organization and the firing of the salute were tributes to the office and not to the man; he therefore declined to accede to Adams' request that the Cadets remain away from the funeral. Accordingly the volleys were fired at the grave, as had been arranged.

The immediate sequel to this disagreement between Hancock and Adams was the unexpected presence of a large contingent from the Sons of Liberty or their sympathizers at the Oliver obsequies. Under ordinary circumstances it would have been difficult to find a single Son of Liberty at Oliver's grave. As the body was lowered into the tomb, this coterie gave three cheers, to the mortification of the true friends of the deceased. The Sons of Liberty had come to the funeral for the specific purpose of registering their spite and disapproval. Peter Oliver, in this same manuscript, in speaking of his brother's funeral, says: "The Vengeance of the Faction was carried to, & beyond the grave — Upon his Interment a large Mob attended, & huzzaed at the intombing the Body; & at Night there was an Exhibition at a publick Window, of a Coffin & several Insignia of Infamy — & at this Exhibition some Members of the general Assembly attended — *could Infernals do worse?*"

It is evident that this unusual and disgraceful scene was the direct result of Adams' protest to Hancock. The crowd, finding that the Cadets intended to attend the funeral, decided to nullify the act of respect by the militia, by giving three cheers. A number of historical writers have mentioned the incident of the cheers at the grave, but I think the motive behind the outburst never before has been traced to its origin.

The feelings of Peter Oliver about his own enforced absence from the funeral he expresses as follows:

> The chief Justice [thought] his Risque of his Life was too great, for him to pay his final Visit to the Death Bed of an only Brother; & his Friends

advised him not [to] pay his fraternal Respect to his Brother's Obsequies — the Advice was just; for it afterwards appeared, that had he so done, it was not probable that he ever would have returned to his own home. Never did Cannibals thirst stronger for human Blood than the Adherents to this Faction — Humanity seemed to be abhorrent to their Nature; & the whole Tenor of their Conduct to this Time will justifye the Observation.

Oliver was a scholar, but his observations on the American Revolution are extremely biased, and he never has anything to say in favor of the patriot cause. It is all the more remarkable that in commenting upon Mackintosh's activities he should have uttered no harsh words against him. He might easily have launched into invective in describing the man who escorted his brother Andrew to Liberty Tree, December 17, 1765, where he was compelled to renounce his appointment as distributor of stamps under the Stamp Act. Instead, as will be seen, Oliver speaks well of him.

One American historian, upon examining the entire Oliver manuscript, of which a part is about to be quoted, is reported to have remarked, probably as a facetious half-truth: "I always thought Peter Oliver was crazy, but after reading his account of the origin of the American Revolution, I feel certain of it."

With this introduction, which is notice that Oliver's version of the Revolution (which he calls a rebellion) cannot safely be accepted as a true picture of the times, I direct attention to that part of the manuscript in which mention is made of Mackintosh. Oliver is speaking of the Stamp Act disturbances in Boston in 1765, and as previously related he had intimate knowledge of Mackintosh's part in the scene of humiliation in which his brother was an unhappy figure. This is what Oliver writes of the period of the Stamp Act riots:

Governor *Bernard,* by his great Firmness & Prudence, had secured the Stamps which were sent from *England* in *Castle William,* about 3 Miles from *Boston;* otherwise, they would have been involved in the general Destruction: and Things remained in a State of Anarchy through the Year 1765. The Leaders of the Faction had hired a Shoemaker, named *Mackintosh,* as the Antitype of *Massianello* of *Naples;*[1] but he

[1] The comparison of Mackintosh to Masaniello (Tomaso Aniello, 1622?–1647) of Naples shows that Oliver had read European history. Perhaps he knew F. Midon's The History of the Rise and Fall of Masaniello, the Fisherman of

was a much cleverer Fellow: he was sensible & manly, and performed their dirty Jobs for them with great Eclat: he dressed genteely; & in Order to convince the publick of that Power with which he was invested, he paraded the Town with a Mob of 2000 Men in two Files,[1] & passed by the Stadthouse, when the general Assembly were sitting, to display his Power: — if a Whisper was heard among his Followers, the holding up his Finger hushed it in a Moment: & when he had fully displayed his Authority, he marched his Men to the first Rendevouz, & Order'd them to retire peacably to their several Homes; & was punctually obeyed. This unhappy Fellow was always ready for the Drudgeries of his Employers, untill, by neglecting his Business, he was reduced to part with his *Last of all;* took to hard drinking, was thrown into a Jail & died: — and, to the eternal Disgrace of his rich Employers, when he supplicated some of them for 2 or 3 Dollars to relieve his Distress, he was refused the small Pittance, because at that Time they had no further Service for him; & had he not possessed a Soul endowed with superior Honor to any of his Employers, he would have brought several of them to the Gallows: there are Instances of Villains, of the *small* vulgar Order, who discover Souls superior to those of many of the *great* Vulgar.

This estimate of Mackintosh seems not only to coincide with the conclusions reached by me in 1924, but it tends to place the shoemaker upon an even higher plane than I had assigned to him. Oliver's picture of Mackintosh's power over a mob of two thousand people sounds like an exaggeration, yet all the evidence from other sources shows Mackintosh to have been in supreme command of the riotous element during the Stamp Act period. Oliver makes plain his belief that Mackintosh was taking orders from "men higher up," and this is in accordance with the tradition among Mackintosh's descendants that he was in league with Hancock, Adams, and other patriots in the troublous period just before the Revolution.

When Oliver intimates that Mackintosh might have brought several of the patriot leaders to the gallows had he not been possessed of a fine sense of honor, it is almost certain that he is referring to Mackintosh's part in the Boston Tea Party and the probable part in the destruction of the tea that he had been directed to take by

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Naples. Containing an Exact and Impartial Relation of the Tumults and Popular Insurrections, that happened in that Kingdom (in the Year 1647), on Account of the Tax upon Fruits. London, 1729.

[1] The date of this parade probably was December 17, 1765.

Hancock and Adams. It will be remembered that Mackintosh said, about 1810, referring to the Tea Party: "It was my chickens that did the job."[1] There can be little doubt that his principals knew all about what was going to happen on the fateful night of December 16, 1773, and that he was merely their agent. It was one of those "dirty jobs" to which Oliver refers.

The last part of Oliver's reference to Mackintosh, in which the shoemaker is pictured as being in poverty and supplicating his rich employers for a few dollars, certainly suggests that Hancock was one of his rich patrons. Samuel Adams could not be properly classified as rich, but William Molineux might have been believed by Oliver to be wealthy, and James Bowdoin was recognized as possessing an ample fortune. The two last mentioned may possibly have figured in the exploit, especially Molineux, who is known to have assisted in throwing overboard the tea.

Oliver's statement that the shoemaker took to hard drinking and was thrown into jail may have been true — probably was true, since his wife had died and he must have been discouraged, for there was little business in Boston and vicinity. The implication, however, that Mackintosh died in jail is without foundation. Mackintosh, as we know, retired from Boston in the spring or summer of 1774 and went to Haverhill, New Hampshire, where he lived until 1816, twenty-five years after Peter Oliver himself had died.

Oliver in closing his account of the "Rebellion" says: "I am not conscious of any Disguise of Truth in the Relation of Facts." Assuming the honesty of that statement, Oliver's account of Mackintosh's death sounds like an inspired and accepted version, spread about Boston for a purpose. It fitted into the plans of the men "higher up" to have it generally believed that Mackintosh was dead.

The report of Mackintosh's death also suggests that when he left Boston he went to a distant frontier point so that the story of his death could not readily be disproved. In view of the fact that he seems never to have returned to Boston there may have been an agreement that he was never to revisit the scenes of his former turbulent triumphs. That Mackintosh was busy plying his trade as shoemaker in New Hampshire in September, 1774, and that

[1] See page 53, above.

thereafter he was a peaceable citizen in Haverhill and vicinity is unquestioned. Nothing more is heard about hard drinking habits, and if he was a hard drinker in Boston just before he left the town, it might easily be explained by his discouraged state of mind. When he went to Haverhill he rubbed out the old slate and started a new one.

Oliver twines little laurel on Mackintosh's brow, but he does not whine over the excesses of his followers. He unmistakably regards him as the agent of his rich employers, and by implication puts all the responsibility for his doings upon them. Whether his employers were rich or poor is immaterial, but it is material that they were the leading Sons of Liberty in Boston.

On the whole, the observations of Peter Oliver, though biased as is his entire narrative, tend to confirm the theory that Mackintosh was working with the tacit approval of Hancock, Adams, and other patriot leaders, if not with their actual connivance. They also suggest that the shoemaker's disappearance from Boston just before the outbreak of the Revolution was dictated not only by his care for his own safety but also by the wishes of his "employers." The patriot leaders perhaps had reason to fear the consequences of disclosures made by Mackintosh, if he were seized by the British and compelled under duress to tell what he knew about the secret acts of the Sons of Liberty from the time of the Stamp Act riots down to the Tea Party. The details of the latter event they particularly wished to remain a sealed book.

Before leaving Peter Oliver, it may prove profitable to revert to that dramatic scene at Liberty Tree on the seventeenth of December, 1765, in which his brother, Andrew Oliver, and Mackintosh were the chief actors.[1] A contemporary letter, which presently will be cited, proves that Mackintosh was not the prime instigator of those exercises. Many of the spectators may have thought that he originated the demonstration, but the initiated must have known that he merely executed plans made by an inner circle of the Sons of Liberty.

This letter will make it clear that the proposal to compel Oliver to make public resignation of his office of stamp distributor started with a small group of the Sons of Liberty. Its members were known among themselves as the "Loyal Nine." While the personnel of this

[1] See page 43, above.

group cannot be stated with absolute certainty, eight of the nine can be named with reasonable confidence, and it is possible to make a ready conjecture as to the identity of the missing one.

The letter was written by Henry Bass to Samuel Phillips Savage, on December 19, 1765, two days after Oliver had been publicly humiliated. Bass, who was then twenty-six years old, became a Boston merchant and lived in Rawson's Lane (Bromfield Street). He was one of the Loyal Nine, and known as such to Savage, who, less than two years later, became his father-in-law.

Savage had formerly lived in Boston, where he was born and where he was a selectman in 1761 and 1762. In 1765 he was living in Weston. He was a prominent patriot, and, it will be remembered, presided over a meeting held December 16, 1773, in the Old South Meeting House when disposition of the tea was being considered. The fact that eight years before that historic meeting Savage was the recipient of inside confidential information relative to the actions of the Boston Sons of Liberty, marks him as one of the earliest of the patriots to abet resistance to royal authority. Incidentally it may be stated that Bass was one of the men who threw the tea overboard.

The letter follows:[1]

Boston 19 Dec^{r} 1765.

Hon^{d} Sir,

On seeing Mess^{rs} Edes & Gills last mondays Paper, the Loyall Nine repair'd the same Evg to Liberty Hall, in order to Consult what further should be done respecting M^{r} Oliver's Resignation, as what had been done heretofore, we tho't not Conclusive & upon some little time debating we happrehended it would be most Satisfactory to the Publick to send a Letter to desire him to appear under Liberty tree at 12 °Clock on Tuesday, to make a publick Resignation under Oath: — the Copy of w^{ch} the Advertisement, his Message, Resignation & Oath you have Inclos'd.[2]

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[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, Savage Collection. The letter is printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, xliv. 688–89. Samuel Phillips Savage was born in Boston, April 27, 1718, son of Arthur and Faith Savage. Boston Records, xxiv. 131. He was a prominent merchant, and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County from November 2, 1775, until his death, December 9, 1797.

[2] The account of Oliver's resignation was printed in the Boston newspaper of December 23, 1765.

the whole affair transacted by the Loyall Nine, in writing the Letter, getting the advertisements Printed, which were all done after 12 °Clock monday Night, the advertisements Pasted up to the am° of a hun^d^ was all done from 9 to 3 °Clock.

you also have a Copy, of w^t^ he said to the publick as near as we can Recolect: he thank't the Gent^m^ for the Polite Letter & treatment he Rec^d^ a Copy of what you have Inclos'd was last Evg sent to Mess^rs^ Drapers to be put in to days Paper w^t^ Directions not to print any of the transactions, without they did the whole; if the[y] could not w^t^ propriety as being the Government's Printers to send it to the Patriots of Liberty Mess^rs^ Edes & Gill, for whom we have the greatest respect. The whole was Conducted to the General Satisfaction of the publick.

& upon the Occasion we that Evg. had a very Genteel Supper provided to which we invited your very good friends M^r^ S.[amuel] A.[dams] and E[des] & G.[ill] & three or four others & spent the Evening in a very agreeable manner Drinkg Healths &c.

D^r^ Sir,

I must desire you'd keep this a profound Secret & not to Let any Person see these papers, & should be glad when you come to town youd bring them with you, as we have no other Copys, & choose to keep them as Archives. We do every thing in order to keep this & the first Affair Private: and are not a little pleas'd to hear that M^c^Intosh has the Credit of the whole Affair.

we Endeavour to keep up the Spirit which I think is as great as ever.

I give you joy in the Custom house being Opened, & hope soon to advise you of the Courts of justice being the Same, I am w^t^ my best wishes for you & Family, health & Happiness your affe. friend

[HENRY BASS]

P S. I have Rec^d^ a Letter from Billey [1] he Begs you'd send him down his Jackets & Breeches, as he Stands in great need of 'em. I should be glad you'd write me more particular what Sort of Planks you want faith [2] tells me two Inch: Let me know in your next & about the Boards &c.

Attention is especially directed to the reference to Mackintosh in Bass's letter: "We do every thing in order to keep this & the first

[1] Doubtless William Savage, son of Samuel Phillips Savage. He was born in Boston, December 26, 1745. Boston Records, xxiv. 258.

[2] Faith Savage and Henry Bass were married in Weston April 16, 1767, by Rev. Samuel Woodward. She was the daughter of Samuel Phillips Savage, born in Boston, May 7, 1744. Boston Records, xxx. 322, and xxiv. 252.

Affair Private: and are not a little pleas'd to hear that M^cIntosh has the Credit of the whole Affair." The reference to the "first Affair" probably is to the hanging of Oliver's effigy on Liberty Tree on the fourteenth of the preceding August, which was followed by the destruction of a building supposed to be designed as a stamp distributor's office, while the home of Oliver also was somewhat damaged; but it may possibly refer to the ruin and destruction of Thomas Hutchinson's house. Whatever the reference the Loyal Nine wanted the matter kept quiet. They believed, too, that Mackintosh's shoulders were broad enough to bear the burden of any stigma that may have attached to either enterprise. They planned to keep secret their part in both undertakings, but were pleased when public opinion drew attention away from the real cause of the demonstration, and gave Mackintosh credit for the public humiliation of Oliver. It let them out. No matter if it let him in.

The Loyal Nine were content to remain in the background while Mackintosh occupied the center of the stage. The Nine remained unknown except to a very few. It was a safe arrangement for all. Had not Mackintosh gone free after the sweeping vandalism perpetrated at Hutchinson's house? Did not the sheriff after arresting him actually release him the morning after that scene of revelry and destruction? Surely nobody would disturb the shoemaker merely for escorting Oliver to Liberty Tree, and seeing that no harm came to him. Thus, the Loyal Nine probably reasoned, and as for Mackintosh himself, it is certain that he cared little or nothing about the risk he was assuming. Doubtless he thoroughly enjoyed playing the rôle assigned to him. He liked to be in the public eye. He had been there before on various Pope Days. He was close to the Loyal Nine without being one of their number. They pulled the strings in secret, and he made the Crown officials dance in public.

Who then composed this mysterious and powerful Loyal Nine? Although I have found no other reference to this band by that title, the cordon of logical conjecture can be drawn so closely about a suspected group that little doubt remains as to their identity. When William Gordon wrote his History of the American Revolution, in 1786, he said that the effigy of Oliver which was hung on Liberty Tree on August 14, 1765, was prepared by John Avery, Jr.,

Thomas Crafts, John Smith, Henry Welles, Thomas Chace [*sic*], Stephen Cleverly, Henry Bass, and Benjamin Edes.[1]

This list, it will be observed, contains only eight names. One additional name would complete the group known as the Loyal Nine. Apparently this band of the Sons of Liberty which in August had been on Oliver's trail, four months later was still active in harassing and discrediting him.

John Adams on December 19, 1765, two days after the public resignation of Oliver, writes: "Messrs. Crafts and Chase gave me a particular account of the proceedings of the Sons of Liberty on Tuesday last . . .",[2] so that he must have known all about the affair within forty-eight hours.

A piece of evidence still better than Gordon's list is found in Adams's Diary, under date of Wednesday, January 15, 1766, only twenty-nine days after Oliver's resignation. Adams writes:[3]

> I spent the evening with the Sons of Liberty, at their own apartment, in Hanover Square, near the tree of liberty. It is a counting-room, in Chase and Speakman's distillery; a very small room it is.
>
> John Avery, distiller or merchant, of a liberal education, John Smith, the brazier, Thomas Crafts [Jr.] the painter, [Benjamin] Edes, the printer, Stephen Cleverly, the brazier, [Thomas] Chase, the distiller, Joseph Field, master of a vessel, Henry Bass, George Trott, jeweller, were present. I was invited by Crafts[4] and Trott to go and spend an evening with them and some others. Avery was mentioned to me as one. I went, and was very civilly and respectfully treated by all present. We had punch, wine, pipes and tobacco, biscuit and cheese, &c. I heard nothing but such conversation as passes at all clubs, among gentlemen, about the times. No plots, no machinations.

It will be observed that Adams's list of those present is nearly identical with the list named by Gordon. He does not attach the "junior" to Avery's name, and omits Henry Welles, but includes two new names — Joseph Field, whom he describes as the master of

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[1] Gordon's History of the American Revolution, i. 175.

[2] Adams, Works, ii. 156.

[3] Id., ii. 178, 179.

[4] Thomas Crafts, Jr., writes John Adams, under date February 15, 1766, requesting that he write some inscriptions, "one in favor of liberty, not forgetting the true-born sons, and one on King George, expressive of our loyalty." He also requests that after reading it, Adams should destroy his letter. Id., ii. 184.

a vessel, and George Trott, the jeweller. The latter, it will be noted, is one of the two men who invited Adams to the meeting. Avery's name, apparently, was used as bait. The presence of Field doubtless can be considered as accidental — a friend of some of the others, perhaps, who happened to be home from a voyage. His sympathies, doubtless, were known and he was trusted. They were all, generally speaking, young men.

It will be seen that Adams does not mention Mackintosh, and it can be taken for granted that the shoemaker was not present. If he had been, it is hardly possible that Adams would have omitted to record that fact. If Trott's name be added to the eight names given by Gordon, then the personnel of the Loyal Nine is known. This line of reasoning strengthens the supposition that Mackintosh was not a member of this inner circle. That he was an important part of the secret machinery of the Sons of Liberty, however, is not for a moment to be doubted.

Comparison of these two lists shows that John Avery in both instances is named first. This probably is not an accident. It seems to indicate that he was the chief man in this group, and therefore mentioned first. His leading position was justified, for, as time went on he proved the only one of the Loyal Nine, with the possible exception of Benjamin Edes, to attain any prominence in the Revolutionary era. Avery was a Harvard graduate, Class of 1759, and is set down tenth when the class was arranged according to social standing. This was relatively high rank. Among his classmates was Joseph Warren. Avery's father was a Harvard graduate, Class of 1731, and also his grandfather, Class of 1706. This made young Avery something of a New England aristocrat. At any rate, so far as education, refinement, and social position were concerned, he was the outstanding member of the Nine. That, perhaps, is why his name was mentioned to Adams as a guaranty of propriety.

A natural question arises. On account of his learning and social gifts was Avery drafted to write the public notices of the Sons of Liberty? Was he the "M. Y. Sec'y,"[1] whose signature was attached to so many notices of the Sons of Liberty at this period and for some years thereafter? Conjecture on that point centers about him and

[1] See page 209, above.

Benjamin Edes, who was an editor and accustomed to writing, as two conspicuous possibilities. This period was the beginning of the public doings of the Sons of Liberty in Boston, and the man behind the public notices probably was in the group now under discussion. The field of responsibility is narrowing, although the significance of "M. Y." still remains a mystery.

In view of all the known facts Avery stands forth as a most encouraging possibility as the "secretary" of this aggressive group. It is interesting to note that after the Revolution was under way, Avery, who on March 23, 1769, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Cushing, speaker of the lower branch of the General Court, was made Deputy Secretary of the Council, the upper branch of the General Court, and a few years later at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of 1780, became the first secretary of the Commonwealth. He continued to hold that office until he died in 1806. Did the patriots elect him secretary because they knew he had made a good secretary in the Stamp Act days? Perhaps. At any rate he gave satisfaction, as is shown by his unbroken service of more than a quarter of a century.

Turning now again to Mackintosh, let us consider his relationship to the Loyal Nine. If he was not one of them, he surely was one of their most ready and willing instruments. He had a certain relationship because he was recognized as being first captain general of Liberty Tree and in charge of the hanging of effigies. Yet the evidence available seems to be that he did not sit in the inner council chamber. But if he did not sip punch with the others, and smoke the pipe of treason or something very like it, he never was long unapprised of important decisions made by those high in authority. If the Loyal Nine were primarily the men of thought, Mackintosh admittedly was the man of action who carried out their plans.

Even if Mackintosh in 1765 was not one of this small group, there is evidence that four years later he was regarded as a leading actor among the Boston Sons of Liberty. George Mason, a Boston sympathizer with the King, wrote on October 20, 1769, to Joseph Harrison, Collector of Customs in Boston, who was then in retirement in London, the following interesting opinion of Mackintosh:

> As opportunity offers I shall be very faithful in transmitting to you whatever Inteligence I think of Importance; I shall watch them [the

Sons of Liberty] very narrowly from a real Principle of doing my King and County Justice — You may please to remember I hinted to you formerly, that if one M^cIntosh in this Town, was apprehended, it would be a means of unravelling the whole scene of Iniquity. The Man has already been threatened with Death in case he should inform. As to any Evidence on this side the Water it would weigh but little, but if Government should think proper to send for him Home, I am firmly perswaded it would answer the end — He was one that attended their Night Meetings, and knows more of their Secret Transactions than the whole of what they call the Torys put together.[1]

The significance of that clause in Bass's letter to Savage in which he says that Samuel Adams was present with them at a very genteel supper two days after the renunciation by Oliver, must not be lost. It is very plain that both Samuel Adams and John Adams were cognizant of what was going on in this select group. They were in a position where they could say that they were not present at the planning of these object lessons, and yet they knew about them and doubtless tacitly approved them. In other words there was a union of the high Sons of Liberty and those who were not so high. Mackintosh represented the invisible force of which the Royal authorities with good cause were afraid. With these facts demonstrated, it is easy to understand why at a later period, when the town was full of British soldiers and the Tory ministry was clamoring for the punishment of the ringleaders, it became perilous for Mackintosh longer to stay in Boston and he quietly retired to a haven in New Hampshire.

After the Revolution was an accomplished fact, Mackintosh humbly continued to peg shoes in Haverhill, while presently John Hancock became the first governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. If Hancock ever had any fears that Mackintosh would return, seek favors and involve him in any of the devious events of the years 1765–1774, they were never realized. The shoemaker was never moved by greed or envy, but he enjoyed excitement. At heart as good a patriot as the best of the Bostonians, he played his part, during a critical period, and retired to oblivion on the frontier. While he occupied the stage he was no small contributor to the program of Colonial resistance to British misrule, and his character will not suffer by close comparison with that of John Hancock.

[1] Chalmers Papers, Papers Relating to New England (1768–1770), iii. 40, Harvard College Library.

Mr. GEORGE P. WINSHIP then read a ballad from a manuscript commonplace book of the early seventeenth century, owned by Mr. William B. Goodwin of Hartford. The date is not given in the manuscript, but the entries immediately preceding it are copies of documents dated in the first decade of the century. Mr. Winship pointed out that the ballad is obviously a satire on the Puritans of the period. By permission of the owner of the manuscript, the text of the ballad is printed here.

In England there is no hope to staye
  where good men are displaced
To Amsterdam is yo^{ur} onlye waie
  and there wee shall bee graced
Ha downe downe heighe downe
  my brethren staye not heere
But let us all to Amsterdam
  and there weele dominere
There is no kinge us to comand
  nor lordlye Bushopes there
There is no highe comission
  to put us all in feare
There are no Supstitious thinges
  no cap nor Surplesse used
By crossinge & by coniuringe
  no baptissme is abused
There is no popishe tiranye
  o^{r} brethren there bee found too
Where Dicke and Tome shall ellders bee
  and Leather girdle Johne too
Wee shall not subscription feare [1]
  A ffigg for p^{r}lacye
No mane shall urge o^{r} conscience there
  farewell, lyve honestlye

[1] "A declaration of one's assent to articles of religion . . . *spec.* in the Church of England, assent to the Thirty-nine Articles." See New English Dictionary, under "subscription."

There weele erecte o^{r} p^{r}spitree [1]
in spite of the wicked crewe
That vantinge saie moste wickedlie
that o^{r} Relligion is newe
Non wicked ther wth us shall byde
to infecte a holie brother
Our sisters shall be sanctiffied
and weele loue on[e] an other
When on[e] another wee doo greete
o^{r} kisses shall bee holye
And weele take heede where as wee meete
that wee comytte not follye
Comon praier weele haue non
but as the sperite moves us
So will wee preache praie and expound
unto all suche as love us
Weele breake seavene pulpyts in a yeare
wth feruencye of knockinge
And all the world shall o^{r} zeale heare
to coole there wicked mockinge
An howers tyme shall not us seeme [2]
wee will not bee confyned
Weele make o^{r} brethren nighe to starve
onles beefore theie haue dyned
Ah howe freelye maie wee gape
to shaue this churche o^{r} mother
Non shall o^{r} zealous censure scape
unlesse hee bee a brother
Then when wee doo comunicate
weele sitt still on o^{r} Arses
This kneelinge weele not tollerate
lyke papists at there masses
All things wee learne by reasones lighte
and scorne authoritie

[1] Presbytery.

[2] "An hour's time shall not be fitting or suitable to us" — i. e. for preaching a sermon. An hour was generally recognized as the proper time for a preacher to hold forth in the Anglican pulpits of the period, as appears, for example, in certain of Donne's sermons.

Weele banish quite the stagerite
  wth all his sophistrie
And Peeter Ramus weele extoll [1]
  kata pantos hee shall bee
Kathauto et kathaloo shall
  rule euerie good degree [2]
This little prymer shall instill
  a Sperite of Inovation
And this is that w^{ch} on[e] daie will
  bee fitt for separation [3]
Heare wee shall leave Antiquitie
  to yeeld no mane there due
And thus wee shall p^{r}pared bee
  to build the churche anewe
The p^{r}dicam^{ts} then downe shall goe [4]
  wee will haue non to mynde them
Theye savore muche of Bushope too
  to much is order in theme
Weele cutt o^{r} heare [5] close to o^{r} skulles
  these foretopes weele not use theme [6]

[1] Peter Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée, 1515–1572), a French philosopher and foe of Aristotelianism (the school of the "Stagyrite" or "stagerite") was much read by Puritan theologians.

[2] "Kata pantos" (*κατὰ παντός*), "kathauto," (*καθ' αὐτό*), and "kathaloo" (*καθόλου, καθ' ὅλου*) are all terms used by Aristotle. Matthias Kappes, Aristoteles-Lexikon, p. 32, says "*καθόλου* (*καθ' ὅλου*) allgemein (universalis); einem Subjektsbegriffe kommt alles *καθόλου* zu, was ihm nach dem ganzen Umfange (*κατὰ παντός*) oder an sich (*καθ' αὐτό*) oder, insofern es ein solches . . . ist, also mit Notwendigkeit zukommt. . . . Daher ist *καθόλου* ein Allgemeines, welches mehreren Dingen nicht bloss zufälligerweise, sondern vermöge ihrer Natur . . . gemeinschaftlich zukommt. . . . Das *καθόλου* ist also ein *κοινόν*, aber nicht jedes *κοινόν* ein *καθόλου*. Τὸ *καθόλου* ist daher überall das Allgemeine, welches in dem Besonderen zum Dasein kommt und in demselben das Wesentliche bildet, der Inhalt des allgemeinen Begriffes." The sense of the passage is simply that Ramus, not Aristotle, shall be the basis of all general and particular conceptions — the philosophical master and guide, and that degrees at the universities shall be based on proficiency in his philosophy and not (as heretofore) on Aristotle's.

[3] Separation from the established church.

[4] Predicament, in logic "the ten categories or classes of predications formed by Aristotle." Compare Milton, "Then *Ens* is represented as the Father of the Praedicaments his ten Sons."

[5] Hair.

[6] Foretops are locks of hair growing on the fore part of the crown, or arranged ornamentally there.

Courte rouges [1] fittethe non but gulles
o fye wee must not learne theme
There weele weare the fflownderkinne [2]
and damne the pantalowne
Our Breeches shall bee verye thyne
Perikadills [3] must goe downe
To weare grette slopes [4] it is a synne
o^r^ conscyence dothe advise us
If that wee cane put Peeter in [5]
mee thinkes it maie suffice us
Meate [?] ornaments are scandalous [6]
in no wise to bee used
Greate breches are Idollatrous
good cloathe is thus abused
Greate bands weele excomunicate
o^r^ Cuffes theie shall bee narowe
Weele buye theme at the cheapeste rate
of everie holie marowe [7]
Theres none shall hurte heavens puidence
by castinge of a dye
ffor wee will banishe quite from thence
all suche impietye
Wee will not worshipe at the cardes
the knaves and Ydolls there
Wee will not see theies kinges w^th^ bandes
o burne suche heathenishe geare
Come Coblers come Tailores come
and make an holye natyon

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[1] Possibly a spelling of ruff, or rug, rugge, a frieze, cloak, or mantle, or of roudge, a kind of coarse cloth, or, perhaps, shags of hair, used to describe "these foretopes," — in general, "shaggy heads" as opposed to close-cropped hair.

[2] Flounderkin was a contemptuous designation for a Dutchman. Flounderkin is probably used here as a name for Dutch breeches.

[3] Pickadills, borders on a ruff or collar, or stiff bands or collars and to support ruffs.

[4] Loose, baggy trousers.

[5] Probably "Peeter" is used in a vulgar sense here.

[6] If the reading "Meate" is right, the sense must be "well-fitting ornaments are scandalous." Perhaps the word should be "Neate," foppish, elegant.

[7] Marowe: partner, mate, fellow-worker.

The wicked ones shall have there dowme [1]
that blame o^{r} separation
O come apace streight for yo^{r} lyves
my brethrene oute of Thrall
Come quickelye bringe awaie yo^{r} wyves
And weele bee Alle in Alle.[2]

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[1] Doom.

[2] Cf. 1 Corinthians, xv. 28, "That God may be all in all."

MARCH MEETING, 1926

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, March 25, 1926, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton, Mr. Arthur Howland Buffinton, and Mr. Charles Eliot Goodspeed, accepting Resident Membership, and from Mr. Charles Evans and Mr. Henry Crocker Kittredge, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. Evarts B. Greene read a paper on:

THE CODE OF HONOR IN COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY TIMES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEW ENGLAND

In September, 1827, the American Quarterly Review, of Philadelphia, published a notice of Jonah Barrington's Sketches of His Own Times, commenting at length on portions of that book which related to duelling. Incidentally the reviewer made some caustic remarks about "American fire eaters," and referred specifically to Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, and South Carolina as bearing the "palm of gentility" in this respect "among the States of our Union." These references to the duel as a mark of barbarism fell under the eye of John Lyde Wilson, a former Governor of South Carolina, who happened also to be an expert on the code. In a pamphlet entitled The Code of Honor; or Rules for the Government of Principals and Seconds (Charleston, 1838; 2d ed., 1858), Wilson defended duelling, under proper regulations, against its critics generally, and more specifically against the writer of the review article in question. He

resented this Northern criticism of Southern manners and concentrated his fire upon the New Englanders. "I am very sure," he wrote, "that the citizens of the States, so disrespectfully spoken of, would feel a deep humiliation to be compelled to exchange their urbanity of deportment for the uncouth incivility of the people of Massachusetts. Look at their public journals and you will find them, very generally, teeming with abuse of private character which would not be countenanced here. The idea of New England as a school for manners is about as fanciful as Bolingbroke's 'idea of a patriot king.' I like their *fortiter in re,* but utterly eschew their *suaviter in modo.*" [1]

Wilson's opinion of New England manners was not, of course, unique among the South Carolinians of his own day, or those of earlier generations, and illustrates one significant phase of American sectionalism. From another point of view, the subject has a certain interest for students of present-day American society. In the case of duelling, as in the modern instance of prohibition, we have a striking illustration of conflict between social convention and the law of the land.

On the eve of the American Revolution, the duel was unquestionably illegal whether in England or America. In the fourth volume of his Commentaries, published in 1769, Blackstone lays down the law on this subject in unmistakable terms. After discussing *malice* as an essential element in the crime of murder, he goes on to say: "This takes in the case of deliberate duelling, where both parties meet avowedly with an intent to murder; thinking it their duty, as gentlemen, and claiming it as their right to wanton with their own lives and those of their fellow-creatures; without any warrant or authority from any power either divine or human, but in direct contradiction to the laws both of God and man: and therefore the law has justly fixed the crime and punishment of murder, on them, and on their seconds also." Even though the duel might not result in any injury, it was nevertheless punishable, as an affray, by fine or imprisonment.[2]

[1] Wilson, Code of Honor, p. 18.

[2] Commentaries (Oxford, 1769), Book iv. 145, 185, 199. Cf. L. Sabine, Notes on Duels and Duelling (Boston, 1856), p. 357. For a good modern summary see Sir J. F. Stephen, History of the Criminal Law of England (1883), iii. 99–102. He points out that duelling in England has been dealt with "on principles applicable to fighting, wounding or homicide generally," rather than by special legislation.

Unequivocal as the law was, Blackstone had no illusions as to the possibility of its enforcement under existing conditions. It requires, he wrote, "such a degree of passive valour, to combat the dread of even undeserved contempt, arising from the false notions of honour too generally received in Europe, that the strongest prohibitions and penalties of the law will never be entirely effective to eradicate this unhappy custom; till a method be found of compelling the aggressor to make some other satisfaction to the affronted party, which the world shall esteem equally reputable as that which is now given at the hazard of the life and fortune, as well of the person insulted, as of him who hath given the insult."

Three years after the publication of Blackstone's volume, the ethical problem of the duel was discussed to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned in a well-known conversation recorded in Boswell's Life of Johnson. The question was raised by Boswell himself. Old General Oglethorpe was quite clear in his own mind: "Undoubtedly a man has a right to defend his honour." Johnson reached essentially the same conclusion though by a different process. He argued that in a "highly polished society" an "affront" was "a serious injury;" to protect one's self from such an injury by the recognized method was essentially an act of self-defence and it was "never unlawful to fight in self-defence." [1]

It is well known that duelling was extremely prevalent during this period of British history, not only among officers in the military and naval service, but among civilians in public life, including such important personages as Fox, Shelburne, and Pitt. In a parliamentary debate of 1780, immediately following a duel in which Shelburne had been wounded by a party opponent, a vigorous protest was made against challenges on account of statements made in the course of parliamentary debate. They were said to have become so numerous as to endanger the most vital of parliamentary privileges — freedom of speech on the floor of the House.[2]

In the comparatively unsophisticated society of the English continental colonies, with its very limited representation of the English gentry, the code of honor naturally received less recognition than in

[1] Boswell (Hill's ed., 1887), ii. 179–181.

[2] Parliamentary History, xxi. 319–325; Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century (N. Y., 1883), ii. 318–322; vi. 266–267. Cf. Sabine, pp. 176–178, 274–276.

the Old World. Though a few duels were fought before the Revolution, in New England as well as in the colonies to the southward, they seem to have taken place most frequently among officers in the royal service, who were, as a class, less influenced by local public opinion than the ordinary colonial, and more responsive to European conventions.

Duelling is commonly thought of as especially prevalent in the South; but careful studies of the subject show that appeals to the code were very rare in colonial Virginia, and there are cases on record which indicate public disapproval of the practice.[1] In North Carolina, Governor George Burrington was charged with having sent two challenges. One of them is mentioned, with other acts of violence, in an indictment for breach of the peace. In 1765, Lieutenant Whitechurch was killed in a duel with the master of the Sloop Viper, and the coroner's jury gave a verdict of wilful murder; but on trial he was apparently acquitted.[2] South Carolina had some conspicuous cases of duelling. In 1761, the colonel of a British regiment was challenged by an officer of the provincial militia; the encounter took place, but without bloodshed. Ten years later the Postmaster General of the Southern District of North America, Peter Delancy, was killed in a Charleston duel. The well-known merchant and politician, Henry Laurens, disliked the practice; but he did, on occasion, accept a challenge. In the one recorded case of an actual encounter (1775), he refused to fire on his opponent, and in a letter reporting the affair warned his son John against following his example: "My dear son, You know my opinion you know my abhorrence of Duels. I can say no more than this to dissuade you from such folly such madness as your Father, by the combined powers of Envy and Malice . . . has been driven into." Georgia, the youngest of the colonies and a quasi-military province, had a few such encounters, chiefly among officers during the Anglo-Spanish War.[3] In general, however, it seems fair to say

[1] T. J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, pp. 75–81 and authorities there cited; M. N. Stanard, Colonial Virginia, pp. 158–160.

[2] North Carolina, Colonial Records, ii. 651 (1726); iii. 473–474 (1733); vii. 5, 9, 10, 39, 159, 197, 290. For another case in which one Dr. —— Skinner and two seconds were acquitted for lack of evidence, see id., ix. 356.

[3] McCrady, South Carolina, 1719–1776, p. 352; Wallace, Laurens, pp. 214–216, 439 and notes; T. Gamble, Savannah Duels and Duellists, Chap. 1; South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, v. 125–130; xvi. 186.

that the duel was not a conspicuous feature of Southern colonial society.[1]

Though New England Puritan opinion, like that of the dissenters and Evangelicals in England, was hostile to the code of honor,[2] Massachusetts had, under its provincial charter, more conspicuous cases of duelling than Virginia during the corresponding period. After the institution of royal government, civil and military officials, accustomed to the conventions of fashionable English society, came to the colony in considerable numbers and indulged in various practices objectionable to their Puritan neighbors. Sewall's Diary records three duels fought in Boston between 1695 and 1718; most of those engaged were either more or less temporary residents or comparatively recent arrivals. The first of these affairs took place on Boston Common, August 17, 1695, one of the participants being a certain Captain Cole. Sewall reported that the Lieutenant-governor had "spoken to Mr. Cook to bind them over to the sessions;"[3] he does not tell us what action, if any, was subsequently taken in the matter. The second encounter was more serious and in this case we are able to compare Sewall's attitude with that of another contemporary, Thomas Lechmere.

On February 15, 1711–12, Lieutenants James Douglas and James Alexander fought a duel, again on the Common, "near the new Burying place." Alexander was fatally wounded and died the following day. A warrant was issued for Douglas, who managed, however, to escape — apparently to Nova Scotia. Sewall was much concerned about this case and the difficulty which he experienced in securing proper action against Douglas. An effort was also made to prevent undue public interest in Alexander's funeral. A letter, Sewall says, was written to the Governor, "to regulate the funeral of Lt. Alexander and prevent its being Great."[4]

In striking contrast with Sewall's treatment of the incident is the account given of it by Thomas Lechmere, a comparative new-comer

[1] There does not seem to have been much duelling in the middle colonies. There was one striking case, in 1715, recorded by the Boston Newsletter of Sept. 19, 1715: "New York, September 12, . . . on Thursday last Doctor John Livingstone was kill'd here In a Duel by Mr. Thomas Dungan, who on Saturday last was Try'd for that Fact in our Supream Court and found Guilty of Manslaughter." Cf. Stokes, Iconography of Manhattan Island, iv. 484.

[2] Lecky, vi. 266. [3] Diary, i. 410. [4] Diary, ii. 334.

in the colony, though he had married into the Winthrop family. In a letter to his brother-in-law, the same Winthrop with whom he was, a few years later, to become involved in one of the most famous of early New England lawsuits, Lechmere tells the story in a light-hearted fashion: "On Friday, the moon being in the Dragon's Taill (an ill omen), wee had something to do in Boston Common — two of our sparks (officers), Messrs. Douglas and Alexander had a mind to shew their manhood. Alexander (like the Great of old) gave the challenge. Douglas in honour could not refuse it, so very loveingly tooke their departure from Boston into the Common, there they bravely gave the word draw, out they pulled spado, to it they went, and manfully engaged each other, and like two brave heroes gave each other a mortal wound. . . . This being the substance of the story or tragedy, I could not but acquaint you as a lover and admirer of such Hectors." [1]

The third duel mentioned by Sewall has attracted less attention. This was fought on the Common, and the parties this time were Captain Thomas Smart and Mr. John Boydell. Boydell, who had come to New England two years earlier as private secretary to Governor Shute, was at the time of the duel, Register of Probate. He was subsequently post-master in Boston, and in general a conspicuous citizen of the town. The encounter took place on December 16, 1718, and a week later the case came up in the Superior Court, where both parties were sentenced to pay a fine, to be imprisoned for twenty-four hours, and to find sureties for their good behavior. "Mr. Sheriff Winslow had them to Prison. Clock struck Four when the sentence was passed." [2]

So far the action taken against duellists seems to have been based on common law, in the absence of any specific statutory provision. The Smart-Boydell case has special interest, however, because it was almost immediately followed by legislation. In June, 1719, the Council, of which Sewall was a member, sent down to the House of Representatives a bill against duelling, which was promptly enacted on June 16, 1719. The preamble indicates that there may have been more cases than have commonly been supposed: "Of late years," there had been in the province "several duels and dangerous en-

[1] 6 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, v. 256.

[2] Diary, iii. 208. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, xvi. 48–52.

counters and quarrels . . . to the great dishonour of Almighty God, in defiance of the laws of nature and Nations, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord, the King, and the precious life of Man." [1] Under the new law, participants in a duel with dangerous weapons, "although death doth not thereby ensue," were subject to fine, not exceeding £100, imprisonment not exceeding six months, or corporal punishment; "any or all" of these penalties might be inflicted at the discretion of the Court, "as the nature and circumstances of the fact and persons may require." The parties were also obliged to find sureties for their good behavior during a period to be determined by the Court.

So the law stood at the time of the most famous of the Massachusetts colonial duels, that of Henry Phillips with Benjamin Woodbridge. The facts in this case have been often stated and may be summed up very briefly. The encounter took place near the powder house in Boston on July 3, 1728. Woodbridge was killed and the survivor, Phillips, escaped to France, where he died about a year later. The case has a peculiar interest on several accounts — the important social connections of the participants, the indications of considerable sympathy with Phillips in influential circles, and the official proceedings which followed.[2]

Henry Phillips, the older of the two duellists, was a young man of about twenty-two, of a representative Boston family, he and his brother, Gillam, being successors to the book business of their father, Samuel Phillips. The recent marriage of his brother to a sister of Peter Faneuil had, however, brought him into contact with a family of different traditions, and it was with Faneuil's assistance that young Phillips was able to make his escape. Woodbridge also represented a combination of New England antecedents with associations outside the Puritan colony. His father, a New Englander by birth, had gone to Barbadoes, where he became a magistrate; but his son came to Boston and went into business with Jonathan Sewall.

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[1] Acts and Resolves, ii. 135; House Journal (Massachusetts Historical Society ed.), ii. 139, 142, 144, 145.

[2] L. M. Sargent, Dealings with the Dead, pp. 549–566, brings together a considerable number of the sources for this case. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, v. 64–80, 165; Shurtleff, Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, pp. 221–223.

The contemporary documents indicate two different kinds of reaction to this tragic incident. There was, on the one hand, considerable sympathy with Phillips, as shown by a certificate signed in October, 1728, by eighty-eight persons, including besides the Faneuils, Lieutenant-governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, a number of officials in the royal service, several merchants, and a few clergymen. Among these divines was Timothy Cutler, the new Episcopal rector of Christ Church. The signers testified to Phillips's "affable, courteous, and peaceable behaviour."[1] The prominence of official personages in this list is significant. On the other hand, it is evident that, in religious circles, the incident caused a profound shock; not only because of the tragic outcome of the duel, but because it seemed not unrelated to a general relaxation, among the youth of Boston, of the old Puritan standards. This point of view comes out strongly in the sermon preached by Joseph Sewall about two weeks after the duel, and subsequently printed with a preface signed by the "United Ministers of Boston."[2]

The signers, including such men as Benjamin Colman, Thomas Prince, and Charles Chauncy, were deeply moved, that "any of the sons of New England, who have been born and educated in this land of light, should be so forsaken of God, and given up to their lusts and passions, as to engage in a bloody and fatal DUEL." Sewall's discourse, like the preface, makes the tragedy the occasion for pointing out the danger of various forms of dissipation. Sewall also called for new legislation. "This hainous Sin of Duelling" should be "branded with the greatest disgrace and ignominy;" "some further and more effectual mark of disgrace" should be fixed upon either giving or accepting a challenge.[3]

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[1] Quoted in Sargent, p. 554.

[2] Joseph Sewall, He that would keep God's commandments must renounce the Society of Evil Doers. A sermon preached at the publick lecture in Boston, July 18, 1748. After a Bloody and Mortal Duel. Boston, 1728. (Prince Collection, Boston Public Library.)

[3] Two other expressions of Puritan opinion may be noted in this connection. One is a statement by Cotton Mather in his life of Phips, "Upon certain *affronts* he has made sudden *returns* that have shewed *choler* enough, and he has by *blow*, as well as by *word*, chastised incivilities: he was, indeed, sufficiently impatient of being *put upon;* and when *base men*, surprizing him at some *disadvantages* (for else few men durst have done it) have sometimes drawn upon him,

The official proceedings were in line with the sentiments expressed by the ministers. Lieutenant-governor Dummer issued, on the day after the duel, a proclamation reciting the "barbarous murder" of Woodbridge. About a month later, the grand jury, under instructions from the Attorney-General, brought in an indictment for murder. Phillips was beyond the reach of the court, but before the summer ended the General Court enacted a new and more drastic statute.[1]

The striking feature of the new law was the effort to attach a special stigma to this particular offense. The penalty for either the challenger or the acceptor of a challenge, whether the duel were actually fought or not, and also for all who encouraged such encounters, was to be of an ignominious kind. The offender was to be "carried publicly in a cart to the gallows, with a rope about his neck, and sit on the gallows for the space of one hour." This public exposure was to be followed by imprisonment for twelve months, and the giving of sureties for good behavior during a further period of twelve months. If the duel proved fatal, the survivor, on conviction and execution, "as is by law provided for wilful murder," was denied a "Christian burial," the body was to be "buried without a coffin, with a stake drove through the body." [2] The same rule was also to be applied to the body of the person killed.[3]

I have not found such strenuous legislation in any of the other colonies, though Pennsylvania passed a comparatively mild measure

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he has, without the *wicked madness* of a *formal duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *correct fools*." Magnalia (1855), i. 218.

The other is contained in a tract by Isaac Watts, A Defense against the Temptation to Self-Murder, London, 1726. The copy of this tract in the Prince Collection indicates that Prince received it from the author about two years before the Phillips-Woodbridge duel. In this tract, Watts devotes several pages to a denunciation of duelling as unchristian and contrary to the law of the land.

[1] Acts and Resolves, ii. 516–517.

[2] A precedent for this method of burial may be found in the old English custom of burying a suicide at cross-roads with a stake driven through the body. Stephen, History of the Criminal Law, iii. 105. The ignominious burial of suicides was also provided for in the early years of the Massachusetts Bay colony (Colony Records, iv, part 1, p. 432; Laws of Massachusetts, 1672, p. 137).

[3] Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis communicated to this society in 1895 the copy of an indictment of two negroes in 1742 for attempting to fight a duel with swords on Boston Common. See our Publications, iii. 154–155.

against duelling as early as 1700, penalizing both the principals to the extent of a fine of £20, or three months' imprisonment at hard labor.[1] The Virginia colonial statutes contain no enactment on this subject; and duelling, so far as it came up at all in the courts, seems to have been dealt with on the more general ground of a breach of the peace. In 1730, for instance, the records of the County Court of Princess Anne County show the arrest of Rodolphus Malbone (or Melborne) on the complaint of Solomon White, whom he had challenged "with sword and pistoll." The complaint included, however, "other misbehaviour." The defendant in this case was to be kept in custody until he gave bond for future good behavior.[2]

It was natural enough that the Revolutionary era should be marked by a considerable increase in duelling. The intercolonial wars of the middle eighteenth century, and the subsequent maintenance of royal forces on the continent, on a larger scale than in previous years, brought the youth of the seaboard towns into closer contact with the military, who were accustomed to the prevailing European standards in such matters.[3] A considerable number of young men who had gone abroad, as, for instance, South Carolinians trained at the Inns of Court, had come under similar influences during this period. As the war proceeded, the corps of officers in the Continental army not only increased in numbers, but was brought under strong pressure to maintain the conventional standards of an officer and a gentleman. This, of course, applied not only to duelling, but to other matters of etiquette. The letters and other personal records of the time show that the New England officers were sharply criticized for their supposed shortcomings in this respect. It must be remembered also that a considerable number of the officers of the American army came to it from European services, both British and Continental, and that the military life in general made men peculiarly sensitive to imputations involving their personal courage.

The outbreak of hostilities led to the enactment of military codes by the revolutionary governments, beginning with the Massachusetts articles of 1775, and duelling was one of the subjects dealt with.

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[1] Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, ii. 51.

[2] Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, iii. 89; T. J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian, pp. 75–81.

[3] Cf. Hugh Graydon, Memoirs, Chap. 2.

The natural starting point for this revolutionary legislation was the British code, to which many of the officers were already accustomed, and of which a new edition had been issued in 1774. In these "Rules and Articles" for the government of the royal forces at home and abroad, Section VII was devoted to "Quarrels and Sending Challenges." The first article of that section was directed against provocative "Speeches or Gestures" by officers or soldiers. The second forbade the sending of a challenge to any officer or soldier,[1] on penalty of being cashiered, in the case of an officer, or suffering corporal punishment, in the case of a private, at the discretion of a court-martial. The third article extended the same penalties to "seconds, promoters, and carriers of challenges," and to any officer who should "knowingly and willingly suffer any person whatsoever to go forth to fight a duel."

It is to be observed that the acceptor of a challenge was not penalized by this code; but the last article may be considered as expressing a kind of pious aspiration. Not only was it made an offense, punishable as in the case of a challenge, for one officer or soldier to upbraid another for declining a duel, but there was a further attempt to protect persons challenged against undue pressure: "We hereby acquit and Discharge all Officers and Soldiers of any Disgrace or Opinion of Disadvantage which might arise from their having refused to accept of challenges, as they will only have acted in obedience to Our Orders, and done their duty as good soldiers, who subject themselves to Discipline." [2]

The first Continental "Articles of War" adopted by Congress June 30, 1775, like the Massachusetts articles of the same year, dealt with duelling on the same general lines as the British code but more briefly.[3] The code, as a whole, was not considered adequate

[1] This clause did not apply to challenges sent to civilians. See the discussion of this whole subject in W. Winthrop, Military Law and Precedents (Boston, 1896), ii. 912–919.

[2] Text of the "Articles" in George B. Davis, A Treatise on the Military Law of the United States (1915), Appendix B, Section 7.

[3] Journals of the Continental Congress (Library of Congress ed.), ii. 114, June 30, 1775. The Massachusetts articles of April 5, 1775, with the Continental articles of 1775 and 1776, are in Winthrop, Military Law, ii. Appendix viii–x. The paragraphs dealing with duelling are substantially the same in both codes (Article 10, Mass.; Article xi., Continental); neither contains the clause of the British code, which attempted to give moral support to the refuser of a challenge.

by the army authorities and William Tudor, the Advocate-General, prepared a paper proposing certain changes desired by the Commander-in-chief. On June 14, 1776, the whole subject was referred to the "Committee on Spies," in which New England was represented by John Adams, New York by Robert R. Livingston, Pennsylvania by James Wilson, Virginia by Jefferson, and South Carolina by Edward Rutledge. It was a strong lawyers' committee; but, if we may judge from Adams's autobiography, he took the laboring oar in the discussion. The upshot of the debate was the adoption, almost, as Adams said, *totidem verbis*, of the British articles, including those dealing with the duel (Section VII). As in the British code the acceptor of a challenge was not penalized; but it was made a punishable offense to upbraid a fellow officer or soldier for declining a duel, such refusal of a challenge being held to be in the line of duty and wholly honorable. Adams emphasized the difficulty of getting support for a code sufficiently drastic, and observed that there was considerable debate; but he does not touch on the specific point of duelling.[1]

As a matter of fact, there was some discussion, more or less serious, of Section VII relating to duels. The most definite allusion I have been able to find is in an intimate letter of Edward Rutledge to Robert R. Livingston, written in August, 1776, while the "Articles" were under discussion. This is in reply to a letter of Livingston complaining of the poor quality of certain officers. It is evident also from the general correspondence of leading South Carolina and New York members during this period that they were especially unfriendly toward the New Englanders. After reporting to Livingston that it had been agreed to adopt the British articles, Rutledge remarked: "I know not how we shall so soon purge the Army of the Men you mention, as by prevailing upon them to resent their own quarrels. To show you how exactly we concurred in sentiment upon this subject . . . and before I received your letter, I proposed to strike out that Article which prevents the sending of challenges, and pressed it as a measure that would tend to make their officers Gentlemen, or at least induce them to act as such whilst in Company with Gentlemen; Stone [a Maryland member] seconded and sup-

[1] Journals of the Continental Congress (Library of Congress ed.), v. 670, 788; Burnett, Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, ii. 102.

ported the Motion; but we could not carry the Point. I believe we must leave it to time." [1]

Of some interest in this connection, and as an illustration of the South Carolina point of view, is a letter written, in November, 1775, by Thomas Lynch of that state, to Washington, then with the army in New England. He notes the adoption of some amendments to the code of 1775, and goes on: "You will enforce them. You will not suffer your officers to sweep the Parade with the skirts of their Coats or bottoms of their Trousers, to cheat or to mess with their men . . . in short being now paid they must do their duty and look as well as act like Gentlemen . . . Do not bate them an Ace my Dear General, but depend on every support of your friends here." [2]

In short, Congress went on record in favor of regulating duelling to precisely the same extent as in the contemporary British Code; but there was some sentiment among the members distinctly more favorable to duelling as a means of maintaining a proper spirit among the officers.

A more difficult problem, not yet fully worked out, is that of determining the actual extent of duelling in the Continental army, and the opinion of the corps of officers as a whole. It would seem, however, that the practice was more general than has sometimes been thought.[3] There are frequent references to duels in Thacher's Journal, in Graydon's Memoirs, and scattered through the correspondence of the time. Mrs. Richard Montgomery, for instance, writes to her friend, Mrs. Jay, in September, 1780, of the death of the latter's cousin, William Alexander Livingston, in a duel, and continues: "There was buried at the same time in like circumstances, a Mr. Peyton from Virginia. . . . You may judge how fashionable dueling has grown when we have had five in one week." Mrs. Montgomery adds her own personal opinion: "this dueling is a very foolish way of putting ones self out of the world." [4]

Some encounters are well known, like those growing out of the Conway Cabal and Washington's difficulties with Charles Lee. Formal expressions of opinion on the propriety of duelling *per se* are hard to find; but it would seem that the prohibitions contained in the articles of war were not taken too seriously even in quarters close

[1] Burnett, ii. 54–56. [2] Id., i. 253–254. [3] Cf. Sabine, p. 10.
[4] John Jay, Correspondence and Papers, i. 402–403.

to the Commander-in-chief. The most notable example of this is the duel between Colonel John Laurens and General Charles Lee, growing out of the latter's injurious remarks about Washington. Both Laurens, the challenger, and Alexander Hamilton, his second, were members of Washington's military family. The account of the duel signed by the two seconds and printed in the Lodge edition of Hamilton, is one of the most business-like records of such a transaction on record, showing familiarity with, and respect for, the etiquette required in "affairs of honor." [1]

Apparently Washington himself was guarded in his utterances on this subject, but three incidents may be mentioned as throwing more or less light on his attitude. One is the case of General Lachlan McIntosh of Georgia, who killed Button Gwinnett, signer of the Declaration of Independence, in a duel in which the latter was the challenger. To allay feeling in Georgia, McIntosh was transferred to another post, but Washington seems to have retained a high regard for him.[2] When, in 1778, Lafayette challenged the Earl of Carlisle, the British peace commissioner, Washington did not approve; but he dealt with the matter in a quite practical, semi-humorous fashion. He suggested that Lafayette's chivalric ideas, however well adapted to the social conditions of the past, were getting out of date; that Carlisle was not likely to accept the challenge; and that the challenger might only be subjecting himself to ridicule. Even if Carlisle did accept, Washington argued, "chance is often as much concerned in deciding these matters as bravery; and always more than the justice of the cause." The matter ended with Carlisle's decisive refusal to take the matter seriously.[3]

A third case, involving General Nathanael Greene, arose just after the close of the war. Greene, having been challenged by a former junior officer of his own command, who resented an official reprimand administered by the general, referred the point of honor to Washington, who gave his opinion against acceptance, but on professional grounds rather than on the general ethical issue. "I

[1] Hamilton, Writings (Lodge ed.), vii. 562; Graydon (1846), pp. 322–324; Lee Papers (in New York Historical Society Collections), iii. 283; iv. 152.

[2] Gamble, Savannah Duels and Duellists, pp. 11–16. Cf. Burnett, ii. 439, 444; Washington, Writings (Ford ed.), xii. 30.

[3] Washington, Writings, vii. 206–208 and notes; Tower, Lafayette in the American Revolution, pp. 31–35.

give it as my decided opinion," Washington wrote, "that your honor and reputation will not only stand perfectly acquitted for the non-acceptance of his challenge, but that your prudence and judgment would have been condemnable for accepting of it, in the eyes of the world; — because, if a commanding officer is responsible to private calls for the discharge of public duty, he has a dagger always at his breast. . . . In a word he is no longer a free agent in office, as there are few military decision which are not offensive to one party or the other." [1]

Since Greene was the most distinguished New England officer in the American army, his own state of mind on this subject is worth considering. His Quaker antecedents did not keep him out of the army and they did not prevent his accepting, in some degree at least, the principles of the code of honor. Early in the war, he learned of an impending duel between two of his junior officers and, though the affair never actually came off, Greene was perplexed as to his own course. He recognized that duelling was "against all laws, both civil and military," but felt the delicacy of the situation as one involving personal honor and regretted that he had not been left in ignorance about it.[2] In the post-war case, already mentioned, which he discussed with Washington, Greene expressly declared his readiness to accept the challenge if that were necessary to comply with the conventions of his profession. "If," he wrote, "I thought my honor or reputation would suffer in the opinion of the world, and more especially with the military gentlemen, I value life too little to hesitate a moment to accept the challenge." [3]

If we take the corps of officers as a whole, the New Englanders appear to have been less amenable to the code of honor than their Southern associates. Hugh Graydon noted in his Memoirs that the code of honor was pretty generally accepted among the Southern officers of the Continental army. After mentioning the reputation of the Marylanders for smartness of dress and the "hottest blood"

[1] G. W. Greene, Nathanael Greene, iii. 527–529 notes; Gamble, pp. 73–76; Washington, Writings, ix. 452.

[2] G. W. Greene, Nathanael Greene, i. 105, 198.

[3] Greene, iii. 527–529, note. Gamble, pp. 73–76. A letter of Cadwallader to Greene, December 5, 1778, which apparently alludes to the Cadwallader-Conway duel, suggests that Greene approved that encounter referred to vaguely by Cadwallader as "a late affair." Lee Papers, iii. 270.

in the Union, he goes on to speak of the men from the states farther South and remarks: "Among all these, the point of honor was maintained." [1] In South Carolina and Georgia there were duels involving general officers of high repute — that between General Robert Howe and Christopher Gadsden in the former, and the McLachlan-Gwinnett affair, already mentioned, in the latter.[2] As an example of matter-of-course treatment of a duel, a letter written in 1782, by Major John Armstrong of North Carolina to his superior, General Sumner, is of interest. Explaining his possible delay in reporting for service, he writes quite casually, that he "had the misfortune to be wounded in a duel" with a fellow officer.[3]

Undoubtedly similar feeling existed among the Middle-state officers. Hamilton's service as a second in the Laurens-Lee duel has been mentioned. His general attitude is also suggested by his correspondence with Dr. William Gordon of Jamaica Plain, Congregational minister and historian of the Revolution, whom he took to task for circulating an injurious rumor. To Hamilton's request for Gordon's authority for the objectionable statement, the latter replied that he would give it if Hamilton would engage "neither to give nor accept a challenge, to cause it to be given or accepted, nor to engage in any encounter that may produce a duel." Hamilton's comment on this was: "Pleasant terms enough. I am first to be calumniated, and then, if my calumniator takes it into his head, I am to bear a cudgelling from him with Christian patience and forbearance; for the terms required, if pursued to their consequences come to this." [4] The Cadwallader-Conway duel of 1778 is an instance of a conspicuous Middle-state officer who met his opponent on the field of honor.[5]

Some of the New England officers reacted strongly against the growing influence of the fashionable code. James Thacher, the Massachusetts army surgeon, who also served for a time with a Virginia regiment, records a considerable number of army duels and indicates his own disapproval of the practice. Of one case in which

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[1] Memoirs, p. 180.
[2] McCrady, South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775–1780, pp. 305–308.
[3] North Carolina Colonial and State Records, xvi. 626.
[4] Hamilton, Writings, vii. 576.
[5] Sabine, p. 130; Graydon, pp. 300–302.

two officers had exchanged shots, but fortunately without bloodshed, he remarks that they were credited with having "established their claim to the title of gentlemen of honor," though the encounter was unnecessary except to prove that they possessed "malice enough in their hearts to commit a murderous deed." He feared, too, that the example of superior officers was likely to have "great influence with those of inferior rank." [1] After another duel, in which one of the principals was killed, Thacher commented on the shocking lack of feeling displayed by the wounded survivor, whom he was called on to attend professionally. He stigmatized another victorious duellist as a murderer. "Is there," he asks, "no remedy for this fashionable folly?" [2]

Some duels were fought reluctantly because the person challenged was subjected to strong social pressure. Thacher tells of one officer who was goaded into fighting because "his brother-officers treated him with contempt, and threatened to hoot him out of camp." [3] This was in 1778. In 1780 he mentions a captain, killed by his opponent, who felt compelled to fight "contrary to his nature and his principles." [4] Greene was not the only New England officer to accept the prevailing conventions. Reference has already been made to two junior officers of his command whose threatened duel caused him some anxiety; of these two, one was a lieutenant lately discharged from a Massachusetts regiment and the other was the captain of a Rhode Island company.[5]

One of the fatal duels mentioned by Thacher in his Journal took place between two Massachusetts officers in New York in 1782. In this case, an effort was made to secure the punishment of the survivor who had provoked the encounter. The colonel of the regiment was called on to deliver the offending officer to the civil authority, but apparently gave the sheriff no effective support, with the result that the latter retired without his prisoner.[6]

Though no attempt has been made to enumerate all cases of duelling in the Revolutionary army, it may fairly be inferred from the material here given that in the American as in the British army, the articles of war were not effectively supported by the social con-

[1] Military Journal (1823), p. 176. [2] Id., pp. 250–251.
[3] Id., pp. 197–198. [4] Id., pp. 370–371. [5] Greene, i. 196.
[6] Thacher, pp. 369–371. Cf. Heath, Memoirs, p. 331.

ventions of the corps of officers; also that the sending and acceptance of a challenge, under proper conditions, was taken as the natural course by officers whose character and standing were such as to make them fairly representative of their group. A statement in John Drayton's biographical sketch of his father, Chief Justice William H. Drayton, is of interest as indicating the conventional attitude toward army duels. In Judge Drayton's letter declining a challenge, he is said to have given as one of his reasons "that although custom had sanctioned duelling with the military it had not done so with the judiciary." [1]

It is possible to deal only very briefly with certain indications of civilian opinion outside of army circles. In view of the English debates of 1780 regarding the relation of the duel to parliamentary privilege, it is interesting to note a statement on that subject by a member of the Continental Congress. In a letter to Schuyler, June 19, 1777, William Duer of New York reports a stormy interview with General Gates about the pending Gates-Schuyler controversy. "Perhaps," Duer wrote, "he [Gates] may take it into his head to call me out . . . Should this be the case, I am determined not to shelter myself under Priviledge, being convinced of the necessity there is to act with spirit, to enable me to discharge with Fidelity the Trust reposed in me." [2] There was an incipient affair of honor between Thomas Burke, a strenuous member of Congress from North Carolina, and General John Sullivan, as a result of Burke's remarks in Congress on Sullivan's conduct at the battle of the Brandywine. In letters to his second, and to Sullivan, Burke complained of Sullivan's failure to arrange a meeting.[3]

On the other hand, the war period and the early years of the peace furnish some striking examples of civilian hostility to the fashionable code. In 1775 Thomas Paine reviewed sympathetically, in the Pennsylvania Magazine, a pamphlet entitled Cursory Reflections on the Single Combat or Modern Duel, Addressed to Gentlemen in Every Class of Life, which held that the sending of a chal-

[1] J. Drayton, Memoirs of the American Revolution, i. xxiii-xxv. Several Revolutionary duels are listed by Sabine. Unfortunately he does not, as a rule, indicate his sources. It seems to me that in his preliminary statement (p. 10) he minimizes unduly the duelling of this period.

[2] Burnett, ii. 384–386.

[3] North Carolina Colonial and State Records, xvi. 83–89.

lenge should be treated as a felony and killing in a duel as murder, unless it could be shown that the person killed was the aggressor. Paine declared that duelling was "generally allowed" to be "Gothic and absurd," though there were also "advocates for it on principle." [1] Franklin wrote from Passy in 1784 to an English correspondent, expressing his astonishment that the "murderous Practice of duelling . . . should continue so long in vogue. Formerly, when Duels were used to determine Lawsuits, from an opinion that Providence would in every instance favour Truth and Right with Victory, they were excusable. At present they decide nothing." [2]

Jefferson's attitude in 1779 is indicated in his proposed Virginia code and reminds one of the Massachusetts law of 1728 in pursuing the offender after death: "Whoever committeth murder by way of duel, shall suffer death by hanging; and if he were the challenger, his body, after death, shall be gibbeted." The removal of the body from the gibbet was made a misdemeanor and the proper officer was to see that it was replaced. Jefferson raised the question whether the estates of both parties to a duel should not be forfeited. "The deceased," he argued, "is equally guilty with a suicide." A quarter-century later, writing as President about an impending duel in the Randolph family, he took the same attitude toward the "absurd and immoral settlement of differences by duel." [3]

Jefferson's proposal was not then accepted by the Virginians, but there is an interesting expression of Southern opinion on the subject in certain North Carolina proceedings of the years 1787 to 1789. In 1787, the state Senate received a petition from one John Bradley, who had killed his antagonist in a duel, pleading extenuating circumstances. The committee to which the petition was referred presented a report recommending a pardon, and this recommendation was adopted by the legislature. The committee found that Bradley had "done everything in his power to avoid the fatal conflict," but that his opponent had "persisted with utmost implacability." While recommending clemency the committee took pains

[1] T. Paine, Writings (ed. Conway), i. 40.

[2] Writings (Smyth ed.), ix. 236.

[3] Jefferson, Writings (Ford ed.), ii. 207. Jefferson cited in support of this proposal the act of 25 George II, c. 37, which provided for gibbeting in cases of murder. The practice was much older. Cf. Stephen, i. 477. See also Jefferson Papers in 7 Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, i. 416.

to add their condemnation of duelling in general and their desire that the action proposed should not be taken as a precedent. "We are extremely unwilling," they said, "to hold out an exemption from punishment to such persons as voluntarily engage in this wicked kind of Contest." Thereupon the Governor issued a pardon to Bradley. The Superior Court of Wilmington district refused to accept the pardon, when pleaded to an indictment in that court, and the matter again came before the legislature, which passed a private act giving him a full pardon and barring any further prosecution.[1] This North Carolina statement may be compared with that of Chief Justice William Henry Drayton of South Carolina, in 1779, as summarized by his son — that custom had sanctioned duelling in the army but not for the judiciary, and that for him to accept the challenge he had received from General Lee "would in the eyes of the world, appear as a public outrage on government, society, and common decency." [2]

In the Northern states, the Revolutionary era was marked by some new statutes against duelling. In 1779, Pennsylvania substituted for the colonial law of 1700 more drastic penal clauses. A challenger was subject to a fine of £500, or imprisonment for twelve months, and also to permanent disqualification for any office of profit and honor. The same penalties were applicable to the acceptor or the carrier of a challenge.[3] In 1786, however, the law was considerably modified. The penalty of twelve-months imprisonment or a fine was retained for the challenger but the amount of the fine was reduced to £100, and a distinction was now made between the challenger and other participants. The penalties of the latter, including the acceptor or carrier of a challenge, and the seconds, were just half of those prescribed for the former. Furthermore the penalty of permanent disqualification for office was omitted.[4]

As in colonial times, Massachusetts took the lead in spectacular legislation. In 1784 the legislature enacted a new law with the following preamble, which suggests that duels had been sufficiently numerous to cause some anxiety: "Whereas divers persons, from the

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[1] North Carolina Colonial and State Records, xx. 336–337; xxiv. 39.

[2] J. Drayton, Memoirs, pp. xxiii–xxv.

[3] Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, ix. 336–338.

[4] Id., xii. 320.

want of a due regard to the life of man, and in contempt of the authority and government of the Supreme Giver and Disposer of life, a regard to which is essentially necessary to the preservation and happiness of a republic, and in violation of the wise and righteous laws of civil society, have voluntarily and maliciously engaged in the detestable and infamous practice of duelling, whereby upon false notions of honor, that result from a want of moral sense and human feeling, many lives have been lost, and many families have been brought to distress and ruin."

In general, the new law followed the colonial statute of 1728–29 in attempting to attach a special stigma to this particular offense. The clause requiring the offender, in an encounter which did not prove fatal, to sit on the gallows with a rope around his neck, and that providing for the ignominious burial of both parties to a fatal duel, were retained in substance. The act of 1784, however, permitted the substitution of a public whipping for the imprisonment required by the older statute. It also took account of the rising medical fraternity by allowing, as an alternative to dishonorable burial of the guilty survivor of a fatal duel, the delivery of his body "to any surgeon or surgeons to be dissected and anatomized." The new act also made not only the principals but all who aided or abetted them in such encounters liable to disqualification from office, for a term of three years. Any or all of these penalties were to be inflicted at the discretion of the Court.[1]

Connecticut and Rhode Island also passed specific acts on duelling during this period; but they lacked the picturesque phraseology and spectacular features of the Massachusetts law. The Connecticut act of 1779 fixed a fine of $3000 and perpetual disqualification for the holding of any office of honor or profit. In case of failure to pay the fine the penalty was to be imprisonment for one year. These penalties applied equally to all participants, including seconds; but the challenger was also required to find sufficient sureties for his "Good-behaviour during Life." [2] The Rhode Island law combined

[1] Acts and Resolves, 1784–85, pp. 24–26 (1784, Chap. 9). The French writer, Eugene Cauchy, in his comprehensive study of the duel, commented on the withdrawal of political rights as the distinctive feature of American penal legislation on this subject. See Du Duel consideré dans ses origines et dans l'état actuel des mœurs (1846), ii. 140–154.

[2] Connecticut Acts and Laws (1796), p. 148.

fine and imprisonment, not exceeding $500 and six months respectively, for all participants or persons aiding or abetting such encounters. No political disabilities were attached.[1] New Hampshire dealt with duelling in the militia by an act of September 19, 1776, but does not seem to have enacted any civil legislation on the subject.[2] In general, then, New England public opinion, so far as it was expressed by the state legislatures of this period, was emphatically against the duel.

So matters stood at the close of the Revolution. The subsequent development of duelling reached a tragic climax in the Burr-Hamilton meeting of 1804, which was followed by vigorous protests, both North and South, and the passage of new legislation in states which had not previously acted. That, however, is another story which lies outside the plan of this paper.

It may be pointed out in conclusion that further research, especially in court records, would probably throw additional light on the attitude of public authorities and public opinion toward the so-called Code of Honor. Meantime it seems clear that later developments in this particular phase of the conflict between law and social convention can best be understood by keeping in mind this background of colonial and Revolutionary experience.

Mr. KENNETH B. MURDOCK read a paper on

COTTON MATHER AND THE RECTORSHIP OF YALE COLLEGE

I have recently acquired a letter, written from Boston, October 1, 1722, by Joseph Green, later minister at Barnstable, to Stephen Williams, then minister at Long Meadow.

Joseph Green was twenty-one years old when the letter was written. He had graduated from Harvard two years before, and in 1722 seems to have been a student in Boston, and an attendant at the Second Church, to membership in which he was admitted in December of that year.[3]

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[1] Public Laws of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (1798), p. 593. Cf. Field, Rhode Island, ii. 436, for a different statement.

[2] Laws of New Hampshire, iv. 51 (1776–84).

[3] Joseph Green (1701–1770), on May 12, 1725, was ordained minister of the East Church at Barnstable, and continued in office there until his death. Prob-

Stephen Williams, to whom the letter was addressed, was ordained minister of the church at Long Meadow in 1716, and was still in office there in 1722. He had graduated from Harvard in 1713. In connection with what follows, it is worth noting that his mother was Eunice Mather, daughter of Eleazar Mather, niece of Increase Mather, and cousin of Cotton Mather.[1]

The interest of the letter arises from the fact that in it Green, in Boston, tried to give to Williams, in Long Meadow, a complete recital of the interesting news of the day. In so doing he mentions several matters by no means without historical or antiquarian significance. The document demands attention particularly, however, because it declares that Cotton Mather was offered, and for a time considered accepting, the rectorship (or presidency) of Yale College. The same statement is made in the New England Courant for October 1, 1722, but it seems that no one writing on Mather or on Yale has called attention to it.[2] This is not to be wondered at, since few would be likely to consider the Courant at this time as a trustworthy source of information about the Mathers. But now that the Courant's assertion is supported by a parallel statement in a letter written by one who was, as appears below, certainly in a position to know whereof he spoke, it demands consideration. If it is true that Mather was once called to Yale, it is a fact of distinct importance both in

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ably he was born on June 21, 1701, as Sibley says (Ms. Memoranda at the Massachusetts Historical Society), although Freeman's History of Cape Cod (1860), i. 567 note, gives June 21, 1704, and, in another place (ii. 302), June 21, 1700. Neither of these dates accords with the inscription on his tombstone, where the date of his birth is given as June 21, 1701, and that of his death as October 4, 1770, being "in the 70th year of his age." (Genealogical Notes of Barnstable Families, i. 447.) He was born in Boston, the son of Joseph and Mary (Beck) Green, and his baptism at the Second Church is recorded under the date of June 22, 1701. See C. Robbins, History of the Second Church, p. 250, and Boston Records, ix. 243. In id., xxiv. 7, the date of Green's birth is given as June 22, 1701, but it seems probable that June 21 is correct.

[1] He was the son of the Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, and was born in 1693. He married Abigail Davenport of Stamford, Connecticut, in 1718. He died in 1782. See S. W. Williams, Genealogy and History of the Family of Williams, pp. 71–84, and, especially, Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the Town of Longmeadow (1884), pp. 319–320.

[2] The item in the Courant reads, "We hear the Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather has been desir'd to take the Charge of the College at Newhaven, in the room of the Reverend Mr. Timothy Cutler who has resign'd that Place."

regard to him and in regard to the history of the college in New Haven, and there now seem to be good reasons for believing that he was thus called. Certainly he was, if Green's letter is to be relied upon. The reasons for believing that it is to be trusted, and that the statement it contains in regard to Mather and Yale, and the similar item in the Courant, are accurate, will be given in detail below. The complete text of the letter is:

For the Rev^{d} M^{r} Stephen Williams Paster of y^{e} Church of Christ att Long-meadow in Springfield Q D C These p M^{r} Mirrick.[1]

Boston Octo^{r} y^{e}. 1st. 1722

Rev^{d} S^{r}.

I am very Glad to hear of your welfare by M^{r} Mirrick & offer you humble thanks for your favour manifested in y^{r} letter; I should heartily have embraced the opportunities you mention had Circumstances allowed of it; I then the more joyfully & willingly improve this to tender my Respects unto you, & to informe you of my welfare att this time (thro' y^{e} continued goodness of y^{e} God of our lives). If I have anything worthy of your hearing, take it in a very few words. The last week there was a fast solemnized att y^{e} old North Church. (for y^{e} ministers of y^{e} town have agreed to do y^{e} like in all their Churches) for y^{e} effusion of y^{e} Spirit of God upon y^{e} rising Generation, & y^{e} reviving dying religion in the Town & Country;[2] in y^{e} forenoon prayed M^{r} Wadsworth & M^{r} Walter Sen^{r} in y^{e} afternoon M^{r} Colman[3] & y^{e} old D^{r}[4] (whose face we beheld as y^{e} face of [an] ⌜Angel) y^{e}

[1] The name Mirrick or Merrick was common in Springfield and its vicinity at this time. See M. A. Green, Springfield, 1636–1886, History of Town and City, *passim*. Thomas Merrick of Springfield was the son-in-law of the Rev. Daniel Brewer, referred to later in the letter. See W. C. Fowler, Memorials of the Chaunceys, p. 197.

[2] Samuel Sewall also describes this fast in his Diary for September 25, 1722. On the observance of similar days of fasting in the other Boston churches at this time, see H. A. Hill, History of the Old South Church, i. 409–410.

[3] The ministers here referred to are Benjamin Wadsworth (1693–1737), at this time Teacher of the First Church; Nehemiah Walter (1688–1750), brother-in-law of Cotton Mather, and minister of the church at Roxbury; and Benjamin Colman (1673–1747), minister of the Brattle Street Church.

[4] "Y^{e} old D^{r}" is Increase Mather, Teacher of the Second Church. The reference to him is peculiarly interesting, since this occasion was his last public appearance in the pulpit. Cotton Mather says (Parentator, p. 200), "On *Sept.* 25. [1722] he did with an Excellent and Pathetic Prayer, in a mighty Auditory, Conclude a *Day of Prayer* kept by his Church, to obtain a *Good Success* of the

young[1] preached all day from Matt 9. 18. where by Daught[r] he sd might be meant Religion & on that Topick he preceed'd in his discourse P.M. he informed us of y[e] astonishing success of y[e] Gospel in a small place, a Golden Spott (as he called it) in (as I since learn by Credible information) some part of y[e] lower Saxony, which he said he wished he might have leave to publish, which is so large an account that not less than 28 Sheetts of paper contain it as sent to him; on fryday last was y[e] delightfull exercise of singing performed att y[e] New Brick Church, M[r] Colman pr- from Rev. 5. 9. and they sung a new song &c y[e] Singing was managed only by y[e] masters of it, viz[t] men & women, seated in the front Gallery on purpose for it; they sang four times, all which were performed with a great dexterity and pleasancy;[2] . . .

Gospel, and the growth of Real and Vital PIETY, with Plentiful Effusions of the Good SPIRIT, especially upon the *Rising Generation*. Within Two Days after This, he fell into an *Apoplectic* sort of *Deliquium*; (very much occasion'd, as it was thought, by too extreme a concern of his Mind on some late Occurrences at *New-Haven:*) out of which he Recovered in a few Minutes; but it so enfeebled him, that he never went abroad any more."

[1] Cotton Mather.

[2] This reference is especially interesting as showing that there was on September 27, 1722, at the New Brick Church, a service at which music was a special feature, with singing by what must have been virtually a choir of more or less trained voices. G. Hood, History of Music in New England, pp. 179 ff., discusses the origin of choirs in New England, and concludes that, after 1720, when singing schools were beginning to be known, it came gradually to be the custom for the most expert singers to sit and sing together at church. Hood, however, mentions no record of anything as "advanced" as the 1722 service at the New Brick Church, except in connection with the later period, and cites an instance which occurred in 1762, when the church at Rowley voted to permit the best singers to sit together in the front of the gallery. They did not avail themselves of this permission. L. C. Elson, History of American Music (1925), pp. 10, 11, says "choir-singing began to take the place of the crude congregational psalm-singing as early as the middle of the eighteenth century." See also F. L. Ritter, Music in America, pp. 39, 48, who cites the episode at Rowley, referred to by Hood, but dates it 1752, and quotes an account of how in Worcester opposition to the singers' sitting in special seats persisted as late as 1779.

The New England Courant for March 5, 1722, has the following item: "On Thursday last in the Afternoon, a Lecture was held at the New Brick Church, by the Society for promoting Regular Singing in the Worship of God. The Reverend Mr. *Thomas Walter* of Roxbury preach'd an excellent Sermon on that Occasion, from 2 Sam. 23. 1. — *The Sweet Psalmist of Israel*, — The Singing was perform'd in Three Parts (according to Rule) by about Ninety Persons skill'd in that Science, to the great Satisfaction of a numerous Assembly there present." The Courant for March 19, 1722, refers to a similar "Singing Lecture" at Reading. On May 14 there is an item about a similar meeting at Dorchester,

There is a certain Gent. (by name More) come over to N. Engld. to survey & descry the nature & use of our Plants seeds & all our vegetables, & to send them over to the King & Royal Society by whom he is sent over, who indeed seems to be a man of great ingenuity, who has been over the greatest part of y^e^ world on that very Errand, & tells me that he finds very many things here that are very choice & that will bring a vast advantage to the Country, w^t^ he finds here that is not to be found there, he sends over to them, he has brought over several hundred sorts of seed never known in this Country, & intends to try our Soil with them, if he could gett a suitable Spott of Ground of some hundred acres. I suppose you'l see him in y^r^ parts for he intends to go all over the Country; for y^e^ King has ordered y^e^ Government to assist him with what shall be tho't necessary for his viaticum thro' y^e^ Country.[1] . . . .

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and on June 4 there is a reference to such a "Lecture" at the New Brick Church on "Thursday last."

That the service in Boston on September 27 was another of these "singing-lectures" is clear from the entry in Jeremiah Bumstead's Diary (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xv. 196): "A sing lecture att y^e^ North Brick. M^r^. Coleman preached from those words — They sung a new song. Revelations. 5 & 9. Sung Tate & Brady 4 psalms, namely, 108. first, 147. next, 89 next, 98 last, noted by titles in that psalm book."

This evidence together with that contained in the Courant, makes it clear that as early as 1722 certain New England churches opened their doors for special services, under the auspices of those interested in "Regular Singing," and that the singing at these services was performed by those best trained in the art. Also, it shows that Tate and Brady's "new version" of the Psalms — probably the Boston edition of 1720 — was in use as early as 1722 in at least one Boston church. The Green letter, with its specific reference to the singers' occupying special seats together, adds a significant detail, showing by what means and how early a long step was taken toward the establishment of formal choirs in Congregational churches in New England.

Apparently the New Brick Church at this time was especially identified with musical progress. I find no record in the Courant for 1722 of any other Boston church which was hospitable to similar musical exercises. It seems, however, that choir singing was not yet in vogue at the regular services at the New Brick. See C. Robbins, History, p. 180.

[1] A Thomas More or Moore, known as "The Pilgrim Botanist," came to New England in 1722. Extracts from the Literary and Scientific Correspondence of Richard Richardson (ed. Dawson Turner), refers to him several times. On pp. 181, 182, there appears a letter from Dr. W. Sherard to Dr. Richard Richardson, May 12, 1722. This says, "I have advanc'd money to send Pilgrim Moore to New England, and all is ready: . . . he is to go after to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsilvania." The editor of the Richardson correspondence says (p. 181 note) that Sherard and Richardson had known Moore in Wales, in 1718. Earlier in 1722, Sherard wrote Richardson saying, "the Pilgrim Botanist, Mr.

Mr Boylstone is just upon Sailing for England, Holland, West Indies & the Straits (I suppose) I have bought out of his fine Collection of

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Moore, is desirous of going to New England and the rest of our colonies in North America. He is an excellent collector of all parts of Natural History, and desires no more than a poor subsistence; a mere philosopher, who designs printing tables of all parts of Natural History: he is now busy in copying them out on parchment; his paper scheme being worn out and torn. They look like so many tailor's measures, joined at top and rolled up. It is pity he is not younger; and I am sorry I did not know him sooner: he would have done more service than all that have been sent abroad." (Id., p. 181 note.)

More's expenses in America were paid by Dr. Richard Richardson, Dr. William Sherard, Sir Hans Sloane, Charles Dubois, John Bellers, R. Mead, and Herman Boerhaave. (Id., p. xv.) Of these all except Boerhaave were members of the Royal Society in 1722, so that Green's statement that More was "sent over" by the Royal Society, is justified, perhaps. What the King's part in sending More may have been does not appear, except for what Green says in this letter. More himself was not a member of the Royal Society.

Apparently More did not meet Sherard's expectations in regard to trustworthiness or success. On August 13, 1723, Sherard wrote, "Mr. Moore, from New England, writes he'll send specimens and seeds, which I expect in two months." (Id., p. 201.) On June 30, 1724, he tells Richardson that "Mr. Moore is now in England, but returns speedily, and promises to follow my instructions for the future, better than he has hither to." (Id., p. 207.) A clue as to the reasons for Sherard's dissatisfaction appears in his words, "I have heard nothing yet from the Pilgrim Botanist, which I admire at. Colonel Dudley wrote word he was gone up into the country, to visit his old acquaintances the Indian Kings, that were in England. I had rather he would first send what grows near Boston; but they have all a notion that, the further they go, the more rare things they find." (Id., p. 206 note.)

In the Philosophical Transactions, xxxi. 147, there is a communication by Sherard on the "Poyson Wood Tree" in New England. This begins, "The Account I had of the Poyson-Tree from Mr. *More* (which probably he had from Mr. *Dudley*) is as follows." Then comes More's description, ending with "I have sent you all the seeds of it, I can get." This is printed in Number 367 of the Philosophical Transactions, which is "For the Months of *January*, *February*, *March*, and *April*, 1721." If the number was issued promptly, More must have been in New England as early as April, 1721, but according to Sherard's letter quoted above, he was in England on May 12, 1722. Either he made two trips, or, as seems more probable, Number 367 of the Philosophical Transactions did not actually appear until some time in 1722, after More had had a chance to write from New England, and Sherard then contributed to it his communication on the "Poyson-Wood" tree as a sort of appendix to Paul Dudley's paper on the same subject which immediately precedes it in the volume as printed. Volume xxxi, which contains Number 367, is dated 1723. Number 367 bears no separate date.

More's "old acquaintance, the Indian Kings, that were in England," referred to by Sherard, were, of course, the five Iroquois chiefs who visited the court of Queen Anne in 1710. They are referred to in both the Tatler and the Spectator.

books so many as amount to about 14 Pounds, w^{h} I hope will be serviceable unto me in my Studies[1]——

M^{r} Hall (your Classmate) is just on y^{e} point of marriage wth M^{rs} Eliz^{a} Pitts Daughter to M^{r}——Pitts y^{e} merch^{t} a Gentleman of a large Estate. M^{r} Gee, I suppose, is before now married to M^{rs} Sarah Rogers of Piscataqua[2]——

But among these Circumstances of Joy, I would just relate a solemn disaster that occurred to one of your Brothers Classmates viz^{t} M^{r} Tho^{s} Fish & his intended wife & mother, upon their voyage to Boston to buy their wedding Cloaths, I mean their sudden destruction & transport to the Eternal world; a violent Storm of wind arose & as they say divided y^{e} vessel into two parts or more, y^{e} men of y^{e} vessel indeed wth some difficulty saved their own lives, but these sunk immediately; *Our life is soon cutt off & we fly away!*[3]

See S. G. Drake, the Aboriginal Races of North America (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 509–512; Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1710–11, Nos. 103, 194, 310; and William T. Morgan's "The Five Nations and Queen Anne" in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. xiii, no. 2, p. 169, which refers to the entertainment of some North American Indians by Queen Anne at her court, "when for the first time the problems of imperial defense and Indian politics assumed a place of real consequence in British policy." More, apparently, met these chiefs in London in 1710.

[1] I have found no record of the exact date when Dr. Zabdiel Boylston (1680–1766) left Boston on a trip which carried him to England, where he was in 1723. See our Publications, xiv. 114; H. A. Kelly and W. L. Burrage, American Medical Biographies, p. 134, and J. Thacher, American Medical Biography, i. 185–192.

[2] Hugh Hall married Elizabeth Pitts, October 31, 1722. (Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, p. 239.) She was the daughter of John and Elizabeth (Lindall) Pitts. Hugh Hall (1673–1773) graduated from Harvard in 1713. From 1716 to 1720 he lived in Barbadoes and in London. After 1720 he settled in Boston, where he became a successful merchant. See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlii. 305. The Reverend Joshua Gee, who became minister of the Second Church in Boston in 1723, married Sarah Rogers, daughter of Nathaniel Rogers, on December 13, 1722. See id., xiv. 107 note; xxiv. 16.

[3] Thomas Fish was born in Duxbury on May 22, 1700. He graduated from Harvard in 1719, being a classmate of Warham Williams, Stephen William's brother. According to Sibley's Ms. Memoranda at the Massachusetts Historical Society, he was a passenger from Duxbury to Boston in a coaster which was upset off Nantasket "not far from the lighthouse," September 22, 1722, and was drowned. The Courant, September 24–October 1, 1722, says, "On Saturday the 22d Instant, a Wood Sloop was forc'd ashore in a Gust of Wind, and stove to Pieces near Nantasket, and three of the Passengers, *viz.* the Wife and Daughter of the Rev. Mr. Robison of Duxbury, and a young Schollar were drown'd."

Sibley says that Fish was published to Ann Turner of Scituate, "who after-

As to y^e^ Apostacy of Some of y^e^ [?] of New-England & y^r^ Conversion (if you will allow the terms) to the Church of England, we haue with admiration Surprize & Astonishment heard many things about it;[1] what the Event of this will be God only knows M^r^ Chaunceys Conversion was to me the most surprizing of all;[2] M^r^ Harris is far from Countenancing of their proceedings (as they say) & protests much against them w^t^ y^e^ Grounds of his so doing are persons guess variously, some phaps think it is to Cull Favour with the dissenters or something like that &c but others (phaps more probably) think that he is afraid y^t^ M^r^ Cutler will get y^e^ ascendant over him, for we suppose that M^r^ Cutlers parts & profound learning meeting in New England Converts will advance him to be a dignitary in the Church, suppose a Bishop in this part of America.[3] D^r^ Mather has an invitation to y^e^ Rector-Ship there, but whether he will go we are uncertain, but as to my own part I am full of hopes he will not, I believe the Contumelies and unworthy treatm^t^ he has mett with in Boston would facilitate his parting with it,[4] but the Church & his good Father will never part with him I hope; ——

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wards married Deacon Joseph Stockbridge of Pembroke." This is not correct, however, as Ann Turner of Scituate married Joseph Stockbridge in 1716. (Scituate Vital Records, ii. 300.) Instead, one may accept Green's statement that Fish's fiancée was drowned with him. She was Mary, the daughter of the Rev. John Robinson of Duxbury, aged 16 in 1722. See J. Winsor, History of Duxbury, p. 185; Duxbury Vital Records, p. 407.

[1] In 1722 several Puritan ministers went over to the Anglican church, to the consternation of some of their brethren. For this sufficiently celebrated chapter in New England history, see, for example, W. S. Perry, History of the American Episcopal Church, i. 247–256.

[2] What Mr. Chauncey is referred to I do not know. No one of the Chaunceys who are known to have been ministers at this time seems to have been "converted," though possibly some one of them professed an inclination toward Anglicanism and later recanted. For the possibility of this, see Perry, i. 250, note 1. If the Chauncey referred to was not a minister, it is even more difficult to tell of whom Green speaks.

[3] Compare here "Checkley and his party had no more earnest opponent than the Rev. Henry Harris [minister at King's Chapel], who, though a loyal member of his church, had no sympathy with their extreme opinions or their extravagant methods. The line of division was as sharp between the two parties in the King's Chapel as it was between either of them and the churches around them. Unfortunately in Mr. Harris's mind his catholic convictions were mingled with an alloy of feeling against Dr. Cutler." (H. W. Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, i. 286.) In June, 1724, Harris wrote to Bishop Gibson in England, calling Cutler an erstwhile "Dissenting Minister" and saying of him "I had a great deal of reason to believe that the chief motive of this person's conversion was the prospect of a new Church in this Town." Id., i. 287. See also id., i. 311–321.

[4] See Cotton Mather, Diary, ii. 634, and *passim*.

the Gentlemen of y^e^ C^hh^ of England have procured land att the north End of the Town for & are about to erect a Church there,[1] some of y^e^ New brick have subscribed towards it, which (as some say) is reserved for M^r^ Cutler,[2] or (as others say) for M^r^ Usher[3] your brothers Classmate, who is now going over to take the Gown; the Lord be mercifull to our young Clergy & keep us in his Truth and Fear oh pray pray for us; I would be glad to have your thoughts with your judicious remarks related to me by your (always very much) desired Pen —— Dear S^r^ If I can procure any books upon the Topick you mention in my Searches and researches after them according to your desire I shall use my utmost endeavour to send them to you. Thus, S^r^, I have given you an account of what att present occurs to me, what I still meet with I shall not fail to Coñunicate unto you as opportunity serves, & in the interim (always beseeching your Prayers to Almighty God for me, that I may be qualified for his Service & if it may be his will improved in it) I am in all due regards your humble Serv^t^

JOS. GREEN

P.S. Forgett not to present all due regards to M^rs^ W^ms^ M^r^ Brewer[4] as a father & to his wife & family (how Dan^ll^ manages I should be glad to hear) to M^r^ Hopkins,[5] and all that trouble them selves so far as to enquire after me ——

Yours J GREEN

P.S. All Service in y^e^ world to M^r^ Dwight,[6] w^th^ desires of Strength under & Success in his Herculean labours among you; w^t^ Content he gives I should be glad to hear.

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[1] This refers to the founding of Christ Church, for which see Perry, i. 582–583; Foote, i. 315–316, and H. Burroughs, Historical Account of Christ Church, Boston, p. 4.

[2] On the day after Green wrote this, October 2, Timothy Cutler was virtually promised Christ Church. See Foote, i. 316–317.

[3] John Usher (H. C. 1719), later Anglican clergyman at Bristol, Rhode Island. See C. R. Batchelder, History of the Eastern Diocese, ii. 334, 335.

[4] Rev. Daniel Brewer (H. C. 1687), minister of the first parish in Springfield. His son, Daniel, referred to a few words later in the text, was sixteen years old in 1722. He graduated from Harvard in 1727. See Sibley, Harvard Graduates, iii. 383–385.

[5] The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, a graduate of Yale in 1718, became minister of a church in West Springfield in 1720. See W. B. Sprague, Historical Discourse at West Springfield, December 2, 1824, pp. 29, 57, 58.

[6] There were many Dwights in western Massachusetts at this time, but the reference here may well be to Joseph Dwight (H. C. 1722), who after leaving college went to Springfield, where "he was engaged in trade" until 1730. See B. W. Dwight, Descendants of John Dwight, ii. 625, 626.

Old D^{r} Mather is apprehended to be near his great & last Change, it is feared he will not live this week out; & truly, S^{r}, it is a time of sickness in our Town att this present time ——

W^{t} you wrote concerning y^{e} Torys & nonjurours I w^{d} pray you to explain in your next for truly S^{r} *transcendit Captum*, y^{e} writing thro' Haste (I suppose) is not (by me att least) legible. S^{r} yours to serve

Jos. Green

Green's assertion that Cotton Mather was, on or before October 1, 1722, asked to become Rector of Yale, to succeed Timothy Cutler, is the most interesting point in this letter. It seems worth while, therefore, to try to decide just how much weight should be given to it.

There is, of course, no inherent improbability in the statement. Mather's interest in Yale is well known, and his activities in its behalf prior to 1722 have been recorded by his biographers. Nor is there any evidence to show that the forces which defeated his ambition to become President of Harvard were similarly active at Yale. He seems to have been on good terms with the authorities of the younger college, and that they should call upon him, after Cutler's defection — particularly at a time when fears were felt for the orthodoxy of Yale — would be natural enough, in view of his wide fame as a scholar, and as a champion of traditional Congregationalism.

Green's statement, however well it accords with probability, lacks any support save for the entry in the Courant for the day on which his letter was written. Sewall says nothing of Mather's having been called to the rectorship of Yale; Mather's own diary and that of his father, for 1722, are not known to exist, and I know of no contemporary document which mentions the matter. Nor do the Yale records refer to it.

It is possible, of course, that the whole affair rests simply on an unfounded rumor which may have circulated in Boston in 1722, but this does not seem probable. For one thing, Green elsewhere seems to be an accurate witness. Even at two centuries' distance most of his statements can still be verified, and those which cannot — for example, some of his remarks about More — cannot to-day be shown to have been untrue. In the second place, if the story about Mather was false, it is hardly possible that Green would have been misled by it. He was writing to a connection of the Mathers, and he was

himself a disciple of Cotton Mather, a member of his church, and one upon whom the busy divine looked with affectionate interest.[1] The Courant might have accepted mere hearsay and printed it as fact; Green is not likely to have done so when it would have been easy for him to ascertain the truth. Nor is there a reasonable possibility that he took the story from the Courant without verification. Friends of the Mathers were not apt to be friends of the Courant, and if they read it at all must have read it with more suspicion than faith. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that Green had not seen the October 1 issue of the Courant, when he wrote to Williams, for in that issue was not only an account of Fish's death but the names of those who were drowned with him. Green calls them simply "his intended wife & mother" and does not give their names. Moreover he adds details to the news account, and his "they say" suggests that he gleaned the story not from print but from conversation. On the face of it Green seems qualified to speak with authority, and there is more reason to believe him than to doubt him, if there are no serious difficulties in the way of belief.

That Sewall does not mention the matter need not be considered a difficulty. Sewall did not mention other matters of which he must have known, and in this case he was probably not so well informed as Green. Sewall's friendship for the Mathers was concentrated chiefly on Increase; Cotton more than once rubbed the old justice the wrong way. Certainly there is no reason to suppose that Cotton Mather ever made a confidant of Samuel Sewall. If Yale did call Mather, his parishioners, his pupils, and his close friends were those who would hear of it. They would be those to whom Green referred by "we" when he said "whether he will go we are uncertain." The

[1] In 1723, when Green was to be ordained at Barnstable, Cotton Mather wrote to the church there, under the date of April 26, saying of Green: "We do . . . signify to you . . . not only that he has been a Brother in the Communion of the Church from which he now transfers his relation [The Second Church of Boston] but also that he has been a beauty unto it. He has been indeed known unto us from a child, having been baptized in our arms. . . An excellent piety has recommended him unto us, and such a good spirit, that we cannot but think that all that have a good spirit in them, will be well affected unto him . . . the kind usuages he shall receive among you, we shall reckon shown unto ourselves." The original letter is in the records of the Congregational Church of the East Parish of Barnstable. I print from a copy furnished me by Mr. Francis T. Bowles.

number of those who were aware of the offer made to Mather, if it was made, was probably small. Someone who was well informed may have let the Courant share the secret, but it is in no way surprising that, save for the Courant entry and the Green letter, no other record of the affair, if it ever had reality, has come down to us.

More serious at first sight, as an objection to believing that what Green and the Courant said is true, is the absence of any confirmation in the Yale records. But on October 1, 1722, before which date Mather is said to have been asked to succeed Cutler in the Rectorship, Cutler was still Rector, his resignation not having been accepted. Therefore no official offer of his chair to Mather could possibly have been made. This by no means implies that no offer was made, but simply that such an offer must have been informal in character. It was quite clear on September 13 when Timothy Cutler presented to the Trustees of Yale a declaration of his conversion to Episcopalianism, that he could not much longer continue to hold his office. It was therefore obvious that a successor would soon be needed, and, although final action on the matter was postponed until October 17, no Trustee can have doubted that he must begin to consider candidates for the rectorship. If one or more of the Trustees thus considering chose to write Mather to inquire whether he would accept the office, when Cutler's resignation took effect, the basis for Green's story would exist. No official offer could be made before October 17; that an offer unofficial in character, but none the less valid, should have been tendered to Mather prior to October 1 is certainly possible.[1] He learned by a letter from Stamford, dated September 25, "It must be acknowledged to the divine goodness, that all the trustees then present [on September 13] (and of the whole number wanted only three . . .) shewed themselves constant to your principles."[2] They were not only constant to Mather's principles but prompt to turn to him when troubles threatened Yale. On September 25 John Davenport and Stephen Buckingham wrote from Stamford jointly to Cotton and Increase Mather telling of Cutler's defection,[3] and on October 2 the Reverend Joseph

[1] See, for the chronology of the events under discussion, F. B. Dexter, Documentary History of Yale, pp. 225–231.

[2] Id., p. 228.

[3] Id., pp. 226–229.

Moss of Derby, Connecticut, wrote to Cotton Mather asking his advice and help, and the Rev. Joseph Webb sent to him from Fairfield on the same day a letter saying, "I cannot but hope some measures will be concerted by yourselves in this juncture for the preservation of the good old cause." [1]

Of these men, Davenport, Buckingham, and Webb were trustees of Yale, but no one of them says anything of Mather's having been asked to become Rector. Indeed, Buckingham and Davenport, whose letter is the earliest in date, suggest that Mather may not have heard of Cutler's change of heart. Mather, however, on the day when the letter was written already knew about the affair.[2] There were eight trustees besides Webb, Buckingham, and Davenport, and one or more of them, believing that Cutler was not likely to be continued in office and that Mather would be a good successor, may have secured the consent of most of their fellow trustees and have written Mather asking whether he would take the rectorship. Davenport, Buckingham, and Webb may not have been consulted, or if they were, may not have been sure whether or not the offer had been communicated to Mather, and so not have wished to refer to it in writing him.

The important point is that the absence of any reference to the matter in the letter of September 25 from Buckingham and Davenport and in Webb's letter of October 2 in no way militates against a belief that Mather was offered the rectorship, since some communication of the news from New Haven had reached his father and him at least by the 25th, and since this communication may well have contained the offer in question, even though the fact of its having been sent was not certainly known to Davenport and Buckingham and Webb when they wrote later. The offer must have been informal and tentative, but granting this there is no reason for refusing to believe that it was made — or, indeed, that if Mather had accepted it, it would have been made formal at the next meeting of the trustees. And the Green letter and the Courant entry supply

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[1] In 2 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, ii. 129–131.

[2] Under the date of September 25, 1722, Sewall writes: "Dr. I. Mather pray'd, much bewail'd the Cōnecticut Apostacie; that Mr. Cutler and others should say there was no Minister in N. E." Sewall, Diary, iii. 309. Cotton Mather was present, and preached.

what seems to be independent testimony to the effect that the offer *was* made, and reached Mather a few days before October 1, 1722.

Finally, then, it appears that we have the evidence of a good witness and a friend of Mather to the effect that in September, 1722, he was offered the rectorship of Yale, and that we have also a newspaper item to the same effect. There appears to be no valid objection in the way of accepting the evidence as true. If it is accepted, it sheds new light on the biography of Cotton Mather and on his relation to his times. If he was called to Yale, it was an honor and should be numbered among his laurels. If he was ambitious to become President of Harvard, and sorely disappointed when his hopes were defeated, it must have been some consolation to realize that at Yale, for which, as the home of Congregational orthodoxy, he had tried to do much, his learning and his strength were recognized. He could hardly have left Boston and his aged father, nor would he, probably, have given up his church, by which he was loved, even though some Bostonians not in his congregation treated him, as he felt, unworthily. If he was asked to go to Yale, it shows that his fame was not confined to Boston, though his unpopularity to a great extent was. Most important, perhaps, it demonstrates that, by 1722, Cotton Mather cannot have been, as is sometimes suggested, a man whose reputation was past and whose popularity was outworn, but that he was, instead, one whose abilities outweighed his defects in the eyes of his contemporaries. Surely none but such a one could have been considered a worthy leader for an institution in the destinies of which every New Englander interested in higher education felt an interest, and to which, rather than to Harvard, many of them looked for the preservation of what seemed to them to be the best ideals and traditions of the Puritan colonies.

APRIL MEETING, 1926

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Dr. Edward Caldwell Moore, at No. 21 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, on Monday, April 26, 1926, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death, on the sixteenth of April, of APPLETON PRENTISS CLARK GRIFFIN, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ALLEN FRENCH of Concord, and Mr. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members; and Mr. ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN of New York, and Mr. MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN of Chicago, were elected Corresponding Members.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. PERCIVAL MERRITT, STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS, and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON and NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper on

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

Not long ago my eye caught the following passage in an English publication:

CENTENARIES. — Someone somewhere recently made the remark that in 1875 the celebration of centenaries had not yet been thought of. Is

this the case? What was the first centenary to be kept and by whom suggested? [1]

The remark about 1875 is, it need scarcely be pointed out, a mistake. An elaborate celebration of the Shakespeare tercentenary was held at Stratford in 1864 from April 23rd to May 4th, inclusive.[2] The London Times of January 26, 1859, stated that "The Burns centenary was celebrated last night." [3] In 1839 was published in New York Thomas Jackson's "Wesleyan Methodism a Revival of Apostolical Christianity. A Sermon preached by appointment before the Wesleyan Conference, August 5, 1839. On occasion of the celebration of the Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism." The sermon was preached at Liverpool, and in the same year a volume by Mr. Jackson entitled The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism was published in New York. On December 7, 1788, and in August, 1789, was held the centenary respectively of the "Shutting of the Gates" and of the "Opening of the Gates" of Londonderry, Ireland.[4] In 1788 were published in London the following sermon and address:

A Sermon preached at the Old Jewry, On the Fourth of November, 1788, before the Society for Commemorating the Glorious Revolution; Being the Completion of an Hundred Years since that great Event. By Andrew Kippis, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.[5]

An Oration delivered at the London Tavern, on the Fourth of November, 1788, on occasion of the Commemoration of the Revolution, And the Completion of a Century from that great Event. By Joseph Towers, LL.D. Published

[1] Notes and Queries, cxlviii. 424. Cf. cxlix. 13, 22, 445.

[2] See Robert E. Hunter's "Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon, a 'Chronicle of the Time:' comprising the salient facts and traditions, biographical, topographical, and historical, connected with the Poet and his Birthplace; together with a full record of the Tercentenary Celebration. . . . London: . . . 1864," pp. 87–246. The event was also celebrated in this country.

[3] The words quoted in the text are taken from the Oxford English Dictionary under "centenary." The earliest example there given of the word in the sense of "A centennial anniversary; the celebration of the accomplishment of a centennium," is dated 1788.

It will interest our members to learn that the late John Wilson, of The University Press, presided at a Burns celebration in Boston: see Report of the Meeting held to celebrate the Centenary of the Birthday of Robert Burns, at the Revere House, Boston, January 25, 1859 (Boston, 1859).

[4] William S. Childe-Pemberton, The Earl Bishop: The Life of Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, Earl of Bristol (1924), ii. 409.

[5] The dedication is "To the Committee of the Society for commemorating the Glorious Revolution."

at the Request of the Stewards, and Committee, appointed for conducting the Commemoration of the Revolution.[1]

The famous Shakespeare Jubilee, as it took place in 1769, was five years too late to be regarded as a centenary. Possibly some of the events that occurred in the years 1641–1660, more particularly the execution of Charles I and the restoration of Charles II,[2] were celebrated in the eighteenth century. In 1705 Sir William Dawes, later Archbishop of York, published at Cambridge —

The continued Plots and Attempts of the Romanists, against the Establish'd Church and Government of England, ever since the Reformation. A Sermon Preach'd at S^{t}. Mary's Church in Cambridge, On the Fifth of November 1705.[3]

Neither in the title nor in the text is it hinted that the occasion was the hundredth anniversary of the detection of the Gunpowder Plot. There is no evidence that centenaries were celebrated in England before 1788.

[1] The Advertisement states that the reason for celebrating November 4, instead of November 5 (on which day King William landed at Torbay), "appears to have been, to avoid confounding the commemoration of the Revolution with the anniversary of the Gunpowder plot" (p. iv). The event was widely celebrated in England in 1788.

In 1789 Richard Price published in London "A Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789, at the Meeting-House in the Old Jewry, to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain." "We are met," he said, "to thank God for that event in this country to which the name of THE REVOLUTION has been given; and which, for more than a century, it has been usual for the friends of freedom, and more especially Protestant Dissenters, under the title of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY, to celebrate with expressions of joy and exultation" (p. 30). The Discourse was reprinted in Boston in 1790. For the Revolution Society, see "An Abstract of the History and Proceedings of the Revolution Society, in London. To which is annexed a copy of the Bill of Rights. Printed by order of the Committee. M.DCC.LXXXIX;" "The Correspondence of the Revolution Society in London, with the National Assembly, and with various societies of the Friends of Liberty in France and England. . . . London. MDCCXCII;" and Notes and Queries, 11th Series, v. 152.

[2] January 30, 1649, and May 29, 1660. I do not find either in the Gentleman's Magazine or in the London Magazine accounts of celebrations in 1749 and 1760. In the former for May, 1766, is this item:

"Being the anniversary of the restoration of King *Charles* II. (now 106 years ago) the same was observed as usual. The house of peers attended divine service in *Westminster Abbey;* as did the house of commons at St. *Margaret's* church. The lord mayor, aldermen, &c. went to *St. Paul's*" (xxxvi. 246).

[3] In 1696 Dawes had published in London "A Sermon Preach'd before the King at White-Hall, Novemb. 5. 1696." The Boston libraries contain over fifty sermons preached on November 5 in the years 1634–1775, but apparently only one after 1775.

But it is in this country, no doubt, that centennial celebrations have been prosecuted with the greatest enthusiasm; indeed, the United States may be regarded as their peculiar home.[1] Nor is this strange. The origins of towns, institutions, and families are lost in the mists of time in England; here they are known with certainty, or approximate certainty. Hence, once started, the habit of celebrating a centenary became fixed, and in time developed into almost a mania. As apparently no attempt has hitherto been made to ascertain exactly when our centennial habit started,[2] a few notes on early centennials, together with a glance at some later instances, may prove of interest.

The settlement at Jamestown in 1607 was not celebrated in 1707 in Virginia, where no notice of the event was taken until 1807. Nor, apparently, did any one in Massachusetts comment in 1720 on the landing of the Pilgrims, or in 1728 on the arrival of Endecott.[3] Curiously enough the Englishman's question, "What was the first

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[1] "The Daily Chronicle of London states," wrote Mr. Philip Hale in the Boston Herald of January 9, 1926, "that America, 'badly bitten by the centenary craze, is celebrating the "centennial," as they prefer to phrase it over there, of rubber boots. . . .'"

[2] On January 22, 1862, "An able and interesting paper was then read by Henry Clark, Esq., of Poultney, upon 'Centennial Celebrations in Vermont — their historical importance and social advantage to Towns' — in which Mr. Clark embodied practical suggestions in regard to the best mode of making such celebrations attractive and useful." The exact title of the paper is "Town Centennial Celebrations; their Historic Importance and Social Advantages;" and the running headline reads "Centennial Celebrations." "This memorandum of fixed dates," wrote Mr. Clark, "has been enumerated . . . as a proper prelude to the consideration of the topic of our paper, viz: *The Historical importance and Social advantages of Centennial Celebrations to the several Towns in our Commonwealth.*" (Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, at the special meeting held in Burlington, January 22d and 23d, 1862, pp. 22, 27, 28.) Mr. Clark dealt only with town celebrations in Vermont.

[3] For the title of a sermon preached by the Rev. Daniel Lewis of Pembroke "at the North-Precinct in Plymouth" (now Kingston) on November 2, 1720, and published the same year in Boston with a preface by the Rev. Ephraim Little of the First Church, Plymouth, see our Publications, vol. xxii, p. lv. This was so near the centenary of the landing that an allusion to that event might not unreasonably be expected, yet none is found either in the sermon or in the preface. Indeed, Forefathers' Day was first celebrated at Plymouth on December 22, 1769: see our Publications, xvii. 297–300.

There is no allusion to the landing of Endecott in the Boston News Letter or in the Boston Gazette for September, 1728.

centenary to be kept and by whom suggested?" though of course incapable of an answer as regards England, can be given a definite reply as regards this country. Our first centenary was held August 6, 1729, and was due to the zeal, enthusiasm, and long-continued efforts of the Rev. Samuel Fisk, pastor of the First Church, Salem. On November 27, 1628, he wrote in his church records:

After the public worship was ended, the Pastor stayed the brethren of the Church, and propounded to them, that they would meet publicly in this house on the 6*th of August next*, to give thanks to God for his great goodness in bringing our fathers hither and planting them as a Church, and continuing it till this time; on which sixth of August next one hundred years will be accomplished, and the second commence. The Church were desired to speak their mind for or against it as they inclined; but one spake who was for it, the rest were silent, whom therefore I told, I should, because it was our custom, take as consenting. I suppose they were all for it, by what I had heard, for I had propounded this matter (not only to the neighboring pastors, who much approved it, which I told this Church, but) to the people in private conversation; so that they had sure expectation of this public proposal.

And on August 3, 1729, Mr. Fisk "propounded publicly to the congregation, what the Church had agreed as above, and prayed their presence and assistance on the said day." Finally, on August 6th he wrote:

This Church's first century[1] Jubilee.

In pursuance of the above vote of the Church, the Church and parish in considerable number (with all the neighboring pastors of this association, and some number of the neighboring congregations) met at the First Church in this Town, at eleven o'clock, A.M.[2]

Then follows an account of the exercises, here given from another and fuller source:

Salem, August 12.

On Wednesday the 6th of *this* Instant, was celebrated here, the 1st CENTURY LECTURE in the Meeting House of the 1st Church here, in

[1] Curiously enough no example of the attributive use of "century" is given in the Oxford English Dictionary. As later extracts will show, such use has been common here for two centuries.

[2] Quoted in Daniel A. White, New England Congregationalism in its Origin and Beauty (1861), pp. 109–110.

Commemoration of the Good Hand of GOD in founding that Church on *August* 6. 1629, just 100 Years since, enlarging and making Her the Mother of several others and Preserving and Blessing Her to this Day. She was the 1st CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH that was compleatly form'd and Organiz'd in the whole AMERICAN CONTINENT; which was on the Day abovemention'd; when the Rev. Mr HIGGINSON was Ordained their Teacher and the Rev. Mr. SKELTON their Pastor &c: Governour BRADFORD and others, deputed from the Church of PLIMOUTH at their Invitation, coming into the Assembly in the Time of the Solemnity, (having been hindred by contrary Winds) gave them the *Right Hand of Fellowship*, wishing all Prosperity and a Blessed Success to such Good Beginnings. The CENTRY LECTURE Began with Singing Psal. CXXII. The Rev. Mr *Barnard*[1] of *Marblehead* then Prayed. We then Sang Psal. CVII. 1–8.[2] The Rev. Mr. *Fisk* then Preach'd a very agreable Sermon, from Psal. LXXVIII. 1–7. which is earnestly desir'd and hop'd to be Printed.[3] We then Sang Psal. XLIV. 1, 2, 6, 7. The Rev. Mr. *Prescot*[4] then Prayed. We then Sang Psal. C. 1st Meter, and the Rev. Mr. *Fisk* Pronounc'd the Blessing. There were *Thirteen* Ministers present, and a considerable confluence of People both from this place and the Towns about.

N. B. *Mr.* Morton *seems to speak of* 30 *Persons in the* 1*st Foundation: But Capt.* Johnson *says there were but* 7.[5]

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[1] Rev. John Barnard (H. C. 1700).

[2] The church records say: "upon which the 107th Psalm, the three first stanzas in it, was sung."

[3] Mr. Fisk's sermon was never printed.

[4] Rev. Benjamin Prescott (H. C. 1709) of Salem.

[5] New England Weekly Journal, August 18, 1729, p. 2/2. Another account, almost but not quite identical, was printed in the Boston News Letter of August 21, 1729, p. 2. No account appeared in the Boston Gazette. The passage quoted in the text has often been reprinted, though not always either in full or accurately: see 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1795, iv. 219–220; C. W. Upham, Principles of the Reformation, 1826, p. 56; C. W. Upham, Principles of Congregationalism, 1829, pp. 3–4; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1855, ix. 268; Essex Institute Historical Collections, 1891, xxviii. 179–180. At the last reference Dr. Samuel A. Green suggested that the passage was written by the Rev. Thomas Prince. This may have been the case, but it is to be noted that the passage is dated Salem, August 12.

There has always been some uncertainty as to exactly what occurred at Salem in 1629. The statement quoted in the text asserts that the First Church was "compleatly form'd and Organized" on August 6th, and that on the same day Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton were ordained; and the mention in the "N.B." of Nathaniel Morton and Edward Johnson indicates that the writer of the passage relied on those authorities. But Johnson, writing about 1651,

In his election sermon on May 27, 1730, the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston said:

And how extreamly proper it is, upon the Close of the FIRST CENTURY of our *Settlement* in *this chief Part of the Land,* which will now within a

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gives no precise date, merely saying that "they Elected and Ordained one Mr. *Higginson* to be Teacher of the first Church of *Christ,* set up in those Parts," and that they "also called to the Office of an Exhorting Elder Mr. *Skelton*" (Wonder-working Providence, 1654, pp. 21, 22). Morton is more specific, saying: "When the sixth of *August* came, it was kept as a day of Fasting and Prayer, in which after the Sermons and Prayers of the two Ministers, in the end of the day, the aforesaid *Confession of Faith* and *Covenant* being solemnly read, the forenamed persons did solemnly profess their Consent thereunto: and then proceeded to the Ordaining of Mr. *Skelton* Pastor, and Mr. *Higginson* Teacher of the Church there" (New Englands Memoriall, 1669, p. 75). William Hubbard, writing about 1680, gave "the 9th day of August" (2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 117, 120) as the date of foundation, but that was obviously an error for the 6th. Two decades later, Cotton Mather stated in one place that "the Sixth Day of *August*" was set apart "for *Fasting* and *Prayer,* for the Settling of a *Church-State* among them, and for their making of a *Confession of their Faith,* and entering into an Holy *Covenant,* whereby that *Church-State* was formed. Mr. *Higginson* then became the Teacher, and Mr. *Skelton* the Pastor, of the Church thus constituted at *Salem,*" and in another place that the events occurred on "a Day in . . . *August*" (Magnalia, 1702, bk. i. ch. iv, § 6, p. 18; bk. iii. pt. ii. ch. i, § 13, p. 74).

All these accounts, which apparently were the only ones known to the people of Salem in 1729, dwell on the events of August 6, 1629, but completely ignore an event that had previously occurred on July 20. The only known contemporary account of what took place on that day is found in a letter written by Charles Gott, dated Salem, July 30, 1629. In July, 1793, was reported the receipt by the Massachusetts Historical Society of a "Fragment of a MS. Letter-book of Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, from 1624 to 1630, found in a grocer's shop in Halifax, Nova Scotia" (1 Proceedings, i. 52). Unfortunately this fragment has, as Mr. Tuttle informs me, either disappeared or cannot now be found; but it was printed in 1794 in 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 27–76. Gott wrote:

The 20th of July, it pleased God to move the heart of our governour [John Endecott], to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher; the former part of the day being spent in praise and teaching; the latter part was spent about the election, which was after this manner; the persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings; . . . so these two servants of God clearing all things by their answers (and being thus fitted) we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voices for their election after this trial: Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher; so the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four

few Weeks expire, To look back to the Beginning of this remarkable Transaction; and first Commemorate the Righteous and Signal *Works* of G O D towards us, both in our own Days and in the Days of our Fathers; and then consider the great & special Obligations they have laid upon us, with the Nature of our Carriage towards Him for the time past, and our Interest and Wisdom for the future.[1]

On August 23, 1730, the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft of Boston preached a sermon entitled —

Observations Historical and Practical on the Rise and Primitive State of New-England. With a special Reference to The Old or first gather'd Church in

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more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson: Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over; but since Thursday, (being, I take it, the 5th of August) is appointed for another solemn day of humiliation, for the full choice of elders and deacons and ordaining them. (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 67–68.)

This letter, but much abbreviated, was copied by Bradford into his History of Plymouth Plantation (ed. W. C. Ford, ii. 93–96), and by Morton himself, apparently from his uncle's manuscript History, into the Plymouth Church Records (our Publications, xxii. 66–67). It will be observed that Gott spoke of the Thursday after July 30 as "being, I take it, the 5th of August." The disappearance of Bradford's Letter-book makes it impossible to verify this date, but, as a matter of fact, Thursday was August 6th. Bradford, in quoting Gott, makes him say "the 6 of August," while Morton makes him say "the 5th of August."

Perhaps the best comment on the events of July 20 and August 6, 1629, is furnished by two footnotes in the Rev. Thomas Prince's Chronological History of New England, published in 1736. The first, appended to July 20, reads: "This Article is no where found, but in a letter from Mr. *Charles Gott*, Dated, *Salem*, July 30. 1629, and preserved in Gov. *Bradford:* and it being wrote between *July* 20 and *Aug.* 6, must be an undoubted Record of past Matter of Fact on *July* 20" (p. 189). The second, appended to August 6, reads: "As Mr. *Skelton* and *Higginson* had been Ministers *Ordained* by *Bishops* in the *Church* of *England; this Ordination* was only *to the Care* of *this Particular Flock*, founded on their free Election. But as there seems to be a repeated *Imposition of Hands;* the *Former* on *July* 20, may only signify their previous Separation for their solemn Change; and this *Latter* of *Aug.* 6, their actual Investiture therein" (p. 191).

The bicentennial in 1829 was celebrated on the wrong day: see p. 420 note, below.

[1] The People of New-England Put in mind of the Righteous Acts of the Lord to Them and their Fathers, and Reasoned with concerning them. A Sermon Delivered at Cambridge Before the Great and General Assembly Of the Province of the Massachusetts May 27th MDCCXXX. . . . Boston in New-England: . . . 1730, pp. 21–22.

Boston. A Sermon preach'd to the said Congregation Aug. 23. 1730. Being the last Sabbath of the first Century since its Settlement. . . . Boston, N.E. . . . M DCC XXX.

In his election sermon on May 26, 1731, the Rev. Samuel Fisk of Salem remarked:

If I do not mistake, we are *now*, in the Affairs of this *Day*, entring on the *second Century* of choosing our Magistrates, within this Territory of the ancient *Massachusetts*. And therefore, on this Occasion, to call to mind our Fathers *publick Spirit*, and the good Success of it, is a proper Reverence for their Persons, Principles and Proceedings: and the just Improvement we make of it, is our strict Imitation of them. . . . We [the Lord's Ministers] pray God . . . That this may be the happy beginning of a second Century of Elections, and that the best of Blessings may now, and ever, descend, and rest on the *British Empire*, and on the KING.[1]

In 1739 the Rev. John Callender published at Boston a pamphlet, the preface to which is dated Newport, Rhode Island, October 27, 1738, with the following title:

An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England in America. From the first Settlement 1638, to the End of the first Century.[2]

On November 23, 1738, the Rev. Samuel Dexter of Dedham preached a discourse entitled —

Our Fathers God, the Hope of Posterity. Some serious Thoughts on the Foundation, Rise and Growth Of the Settlements in New England; With a View to the Edification of the Present, and the Instruction, and Admonition of Future Generations. A Discourse Delivered at Dedham, on the Day of Publick Thanksgiving, Nov. 23. 1738. Upon the Conclusion of the first Century, since a Church of Christ was Gathered in that Place. . . . Boston: . . . 1738.[3]

On September 16, 1739, the Rev. John Hancock of Braintree preached two sermons entitled —

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[1] The Characters of the Candidates for Civil Government, especially for the Council. As it was drawn in a Sermon, Deliver'd at Boston, Before His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq; . . . On May 26. MDCCXXXI. . . . Boston, N.E. . . . 1731, pp. 41, 49–50.

[2] This is often cited as "Callender's Century Sermon;" but I have found no copy with a half-title, and the title on p. 1 and the running headline read "An Historical Discourse, &c."

[3] The half-title reads: "Mr. Dexter's Century Sermon, on the Publick Thanksgiving November 23. 1738."

A Memorial of God's Goodness. Being the Substance of Two Sermons, Preach'd in the first Church of Christ in Braintree, Sept. 16th. 1739. On compleating the first Century since the Gathering of it. . . . Boston: . . . 1739.

On December 25, 1791, the Rev. Jonathan Homer of Newton preached a sermon entitled —

The Succession of Generations among Mankind, Illustrated and Improved in a Sermon, Preached at Newton, on Lord's day, Dec. 25, 1791; Being the Commencement of a new Century, from the Incorporation of said Town. . . . Printed at the Apollo Press, in Boston, . . . MDCCXCII.[1]

The tercentenary of the discovery of America by Columbus was celebrated in New York, Boston, and elsewhere.[2] Writing to Jeremy Belknap on April 6, 1791, John Pintard, secretary of the Tammany Society, said:

Our Society proposes celebrating the completion of the third century of the discovery of America, on the 12th of October, 1792, with some peculiar mark of respect to the memory of Columbus, who is also our patron. We think besides a procession & an oration, — for we have annual orations, — of erecting a column to his memory.[3]

This programme was carried out, as appears from a contemporary account:

Oct. 17. Friday last, the 12th inst. being the commencement of the 4th Columbian Century, was observed as a Centuary[4] Festival by the Tammany Society, and celebrated in that stile of sentiment which distinguishes this social and patriotic institution. — In the evening a

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[1] The title on p. 5 is "A Century Sermon."

[2] "THIS DAY will be celebrated by the Historical Society, in Boston, as the completion of the third century since Columbus discovered this Western World: . . . The twelfth inst, has been already celebrated at Newyork, Providence, &c. as the day of that great event — The difference of style occasions the observance of different days" (Salem Gazette, October 23, 1792, p. 2/2). The same paper of October 9 called attention to the fact that "Next Friday, the 12th instant, will complete the third Century since the immortal COLUMBUS discovered America," and asserted that "THIS DAY demands of us to celebrate the exertions of an individual, who, by his success, began a revolution in the condition of human nature. . . . Let then every man of Science, and of Commerce, and every Marine Association, transmit with the blessings of life the history of their births; and by general joy let them write the history upon the grateful hearts of posterity" (p. 2/2–3).

[3] Belknap Papers, iii. 491.

[4] This word, though not in the dictionaries, I have found elsewhere, and is obviously an adjectival form of "century."

monument was erected to the memory of Columbus, ornamented by *transparency*, with a variety of suitable devices. This beautiful exhibition was exposed for the gratification of public curiosity, some time previous to the meeting of the society. — An elegant oration was delivered by Mr. John B. Johnston,[1] in which several of the principal events in the life of this remarkable man were pathetically described; and the interesting consequences to which his great atchievements had already, and must still conduct the affairs of mankind, were pointed out in a manner extremely satisfactory.[2]

On December 23, 1791, the Massachusetts Historical Society voted "That the consideration of Mr. Belknap's proposal for the celebration of the Centenary Anniversary of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, on the 12th of October, 1492, be postponed to the next meeting;" and on March 30, 1792, voted "to celebrate the Centenary by a Public Discourse, and that Mr. Belknap be desired to prepare for that occasion."[3] Accordingly on October 23rd, which was wrongly supposed to be the proper date, New Style,[4] the society met at the house of the Rev. Dr. Peter

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[1] "Brother JOHN B. JOHNSON, agreeable to appointment, addressed the Society with an animated EULOGY on this nautical HERO and astonishing adventurer, with great applause" (Columbian Centinel, October 20, 1792, p. 2/4, quoting a New York newspaper). John Barent Johnson (1768–1803) graduated from Columbia College in 1792. His address on this occasion was not printed, but in 1794 he published "An Oration on Union, Delivered in the New Dutch Church in the City of New-York, on the Twelfth of May, 1794. The Anniversary of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order." Cf. E. P. Kilroe, Saint Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York (1913), pp. 136–137, 184–188, 215, 216.

[2] New York Magazine, October, 1792, iii. 640.

[3] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 28–29, 31.

[4] With regard to Old Style and New Style, two remarks are pertinent. First, as to the difference between them. The Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1582, when ten days were dropped, and the day after October 4 was reckoned as October 15. The year 1600 was a leap-year in both the Julian and the Gregorian calendars. "The difference between the old and new calendars continued to be 10 days till 1700 (the first disputed leap-year), when it became 11 days; in 1800 it became 12 days, and in 1900 13 days, from which there will be no further increase till 2100" (Oxford English Dictionary, under "style," 27). In Old Style the year began with March 25; in New Style, with January 1. The legal change in England and the American colonies took place in September, 1752, when the day after September 2 was reckoned September 14. To convert Old Style into New Style by adding ten days to events that occurred in the years 1582–1699, and eleven days to events that occurred in the years 1700–1751,

Thacher, transacted some business, and "then proceeded to the Meeting-house in Brattle Street, where a discourse was delivered

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would seem not to be difficult; yet surprising and innumerable blunders have been made, in some cases by the most learned scholars. A dozen years ago I called attention to the curious history of what was perhaps the first blunder of the sort to be committed in this country — namely, the celebration of Forefathers' Day at Plymouth on December 22, 1769, instead of the correct date, December 21. (See our Publications, xvii. 297 note 4.) A still more striking example is afforded by the celebration recorded in the text. The Independent Chronicle of October 25, 1792, began its account with these words: "Tuesday last, the 23d instant, being the 12th of the month, old style, and the day on which the third century after the discovery of America by Columbus was completed, that event was celebrated . . . in the following manner" (p. 2/5). Whether Belknap himself was responsible for the date I have been unable to ascertain, but certainly that date could not have been selected without his approval. In 1879 Charles Deane and Charles C. Smith declared: "The selection of the 23d of October for the day of celebration, as corresponding in new style to the 12th in old style, was an error, as only nine days were required to represent the difference, the true day falling on the 21st" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 45 note).

Secondly, as to the exact day of a centennial celebration. Should it be held on the precise date of the event commemorated, or should that date be converted into New Style? So far as the year is concerned, obviously the date should be converted into New Style. For instance, Washington was born on February 11, 1731, as the legal date then was. It is unnecessary to point out that the centennial of his birthday was properly held in 1832. But so far as the day of the month is concerned, the case is not so clear; and, as a matter of fact, there have been and are curious discrepancies in this respect. A few illustrations may be given.

The Gunpowder Plot was detected November 5, 1605, Charles I was executed January 30, 1648–9, and Charles II was restored May 29, 1660. Those three events have usually, if not always, been celebrated on November 5, January 30, and May 29, respectively — that is, the Old Style dates have been adhered to. On the other hand, in and ever since 1769 Forefathers' Day has been celebrated on December 21 (or sometimes, through error in calculation, on December 22) — that is, according to New Style. The history of the observance of Washington's birthday is curious. In Boston or vicinity the day celebrated was February 11 in the years 1779–1792; February 22 in 1793; both February 11 and February 22 in 1794; and February 22 in 1796. In Philadelphia it was February 22 in 1797. In Alexandria, Virginia, it was February 12 (because the 11th fell on Sunday) in 1797, and February 11 in 1799. (See our Publications, x. 253–258, xi. 195, xii. 254, xiii. 96–99, 126, xiv. 199; Diaries of George Washington, 1925, iv. 252, 271, 298.) The day now everywhere observed is February 22 — that is, the original date has been corrected to New Style. Finally, there is Columbus Day. The original date was October 12, 1492; and, as is shown in the text, the tercentenary was held on October 12 in New York and on October 23 (by error for October 21) in Boston. There was a similar discrepancy a century later. In 1892 New York had a celebration of its own from October 8 to

by Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap upon the subject of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and service was performed, agreeably to the votes of the Society." [1] Belknap's discourse was entitled —

A Discourse, intended to commemorate the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; delivered at the request of the Historical Society in Massachusetts, on the 23d day of October, 1792, being the completion of the Third Century since that memorable event. To which are added, Four Dissertations, . . . By Jeremy Belknap, D.D. . . . Boston, . . . MDCCXCII.[2]

In 1794 the Rev. Chandler Robbins of Plymouth published at Boston "A Century Sermon, Preached at Kingston, In the County of Plymouth, April 2d, 1794; at the special desire of Mr. Ebenezer Cobb, who, on that day, arrived to the age of One Hundred Years." [3]

On December 25, 1698, there was formed at Dorchester a "Society of Young Men mutually joining together in the Service of God." The society apparently had no distinctive name, and, though it seems to have existed for a century and a half, there appear to be no allusions to it in the histories of Dorchester.[4] In 1799 the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris of Charlestown published there "A Discourse, Addressed to the Religious Society of Young Men in Dor-

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October 13, both included, the "anniversary proper" being held on the 12th, which was a legal holiday. But October 21 was by presidential proclamation made a national holiday and was observed throughout the country. (See the Boston Evening Transcript, October 8, 1892, p. 11/4; October 10, pp. 1/5, 6/1; October 11, pp. 1/5, 4/4; October 12, pp. 1/5, 2/4, 4/5; October 13, pp. 1/4, 6/1; October 14, pp. 5/2, 6/1; October 20, pp. 1/6, 3/1, 3/4, 4/1; October 22, pp. 3/1, 8/3.) In later years the national precedent set in 1892 was departed from, the original date was restored, and now Columbus Day is everywhere October 12. (The Massachusetts act making Columbus Day a legal holiday on October 12 was approved March 13, 1911.)

Thus there is ample precedent for either retaining the Old Style date or turning it into New Style. Obviously, however, if the original date is converted into New Style, the conversion should be correctly made.

[1] 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 45.

[2] Notices of the celebration appeared in the Columbian Centinel of October 24 (p. 3/4) and in the Independent Chronicle of October 25 (p. 2/5). An "Ode, for the 23d of October, 1792," but by whom written I do not know, will be found on pp. 56–58 of Belknap's Discourse, but had previously been printed, at the request of "A Columbian," in the Columbian Centinel of October 17 (p. 4/1).

[3] Our Publications, vol. xxii, p. lvii.

[4] See the writer's paper on "A Dorchester Religious Society of Young Men" in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1906, lx. 30–40.

chester, on the Termination of One Hundred Years from the Time of its Establishment."

In 1800 the Rev. Dr. Peter Thacher published at Boston "A Sermon preached to the Church and Society in Brattle-Street, Boston, Dec. 29, 1799, and occasioned by the Completion of a Century from its first establishment."

The reader has doubtless noted that thus far no celebration in Virginia has been recorded. This is because apparently none was held there until 1807, when the following pamphlet was published:

Report of the Proceedings of the late Jubilee at James-Town, in commemoration of the 13th May, the Second Centesimal Anniversary of the Settlement of Virginia; containing the order of procession, the Prayer of Bishop Madison, the Orations, the Odes and Toasts; together with the proceedings at Williamsburg on the 15th, the day when the Convention of Virginia assembled in the Old Capitol, declared her Independent and recommended a similar procedure to Congress and to the other States. Reported by the Select Committee. Petersburg: . . . 1807.

From this pamphlet are extracted some passages:

SEVERAL causes having lately attracted the public attention to the peninsula of James Town as containing the cradle of our nation, and as being the depositary of the bones and ashes of our venerable ancestors: The following publication appeared in the Virginia Apollo, with the view of directing the public sentiment to a regular celebration of events, equally interesting to the literary antiquities, the liberty, and character of Virginia.

"Having lately perused Burk's History of Virginia, I discovered that on the approaching thirteenth of May, two centuries will have elapsed since the forefathers of Virginia and it may be said the founders of North America landed on the peninsula of James Town. It is impossible to contemplate this event without feelings of reverence and sublimity. Nothing in ancient story furnishes any parallel at once to the humility and the grandeur of this incident: . . . but who shall be able to follow the course of these striking events: yielding at length to labor, to industry, to intelligence, to patriotism, the *wilderness begins to blossom as the rose:* the haunts of wild beasts become the habitations of men, and instead of their howlings mingled with the yells of savages, are now heard the expositions of law, the discussion of science, and the eloquence of senates: cities rise as it were by magic; the arts and sciences encouraged by an unrestrained inquiry, extend widely their empire, whilst liberty the first and greatest of human blessings, like the key stone to an arch, gives security and permanency to those great and

manifold blessings. What a scene is here for gratitude, for gratulation, and triumph; compared with an occasion like this, how sink the anniversaries of Europe. The childish and wicked incidents that gave birth to their jubilees, and their festivals, for which te deums and hosannas are sung, by a wicked mockery and prostitution of religion; . . . what are they when put in competition with this sublime incident, which is feebly illustrated by the ark of Noah and the bark of Deucalion; what are they to the *moral formation of a world*, the growth of nations, and their confederations under the auspices of liberty and philosophy: yet this day so auspicious and eventful, this day when the roads of Virginia should be trodden by the feet of pilgrims, to visit the tombs of their fathers, to celebrate the era of their national existence, when imagination ascending to the cradle, marking the first faint struggles of collonial infancy, would at every step discover new occasion for gratitude to that great being who had destined them to occupy so distinguished a station amongst the nations of the earth; this day is forgotten amidst the paltry cares and inquietudes of the world. It is not so in New England: the sagacity of that intelligent people would not permit them to omit an occasion calculated to produce such effects upon the minds and principles of their descendants: they knew that it would afford *fresh oil to the lamp* of their patriotism, and accordingly the era of their debarkation at Plymouth, is celebrated by annual festivals; but in the ancient dominion of Virginia, which may be called the principal fountain of American population, not the slightest notice is taken of an event in which the whole world is interested. It is time at length to put an end to this shameful apathy; the revolution of a second century since the event, affords an opportunity sufficiently splendid, and it is to be hoped, that it will be eagerly embraced by every friend to the antiquities, the literature, the independence at least of Virginia."

A FARMER OF THE ANCIENT DOMINION.[1]

The report went on to say that "the state of the public mind . . . was favorable to the appearance and objects of this publication, . . . an holy enthusiasm began to dilate and kindle amongst the people, and before intimation had been received of any concerted plan of operations, parties were forming for the purpose of celebrating the 13th of May, with the homage of unbought gratitude, the throb of heart feeling sensibility and veneration." [2] Indeed, the festivities

[1] Report, pp. 3–6.

[2] Report, p. 6. A footnote reads: "It was not forgotten that this landing was effected May 13th 1607, old stile, and consequently that, to avoid an an-

were extended over three days. On the 13th orations were delivered by two young men, both students at William and Mary College, and two poems were read, after which "the company sat down to dinner, the Ladies in the several apartments of [a] spacious house, the Gentlemen under an immense arbour prepared for the occasion," when fifteen toasts were drunk, and the evening ended with dancing.[1] On the 14th, at a meeting of the citizens at Jamestown, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. *Resolved,* That there be a quinquennial Festival kept at James Town, at which the people of Virginia shall be invited to attend; the primary object of which Festival shall be to commemorate the event of the first settlement of this country, to invigorate Republican sentiment, and to offer up to the divine benefactor of man, that tribute of praise and thanksgiving which rational piety inforces.

2. *Resolved,* That each portion of five years be called a Virginiad.

3. *Resolved,* That the citizens of Virginia be invited to appoint Committees in the principal Towns and places, one year before the return of the next Festival at James Town, for the purpose of making the arrangements requisite at the Festival, and for attaining the objects contemplated by those patriotic meetings.

4. *Resolved,* That it be recommended to the people of this State to assemble annually on the 13th of May, in places most convenient to themselves, to celebrate the landing of their forefathers in Virginia.[2]

On the 15th "the pilgrims" assembled at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, "in the very room where the Declaration of Independence had been digested and drafted, by the Committee of the Convention," and eighteen toasts were drunk.[3]

In 1813 the Rev. Samuel Kendall published at Cambridge "A Sermon, delivered at Weston, January 12, 1813, on the Termination of a Century since the Incorporation of the Town." In 1814 the Rev. Luther Wright published at Dedham "A Sermon, delivered at

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achronism, the 24th May, new stile, should have been fixed upon: but particular and impressive considerations have decided in favor of the 13th" (p. 6). The proper date New Style was not May 24 but May 23: see p. 412 note 4, above.

[1] Report, p. 42.

[2] Report, pp. 45–46. "The 14th was announced as usual, by a cannon. About 11 o'clock, preparations commenced for the Interment and Funeral of one of the pilgrims, a brave and benevolent young man, who fell a victim to a too free use of Ice in Cyder, having been violently heated" (p. 44).

[3] Report, pp. 46–47.

Medway, November 4, 1813, on the Close of a Century since the Incorporation of the Town;" and the Rev. Francis Parkman published at Boston "A Survey of God's Providence in the Establishment of the Churches of New-England. A Sermon delivered in Boston, November 27, 1814, on the completion of a Century since the Establishment of the New-North Church." In 1815 the Rev. Manasseh Cutler published at Salem "A Century Discourse, delivered in Hamilton, on Thursday, October 27, 1814;" and the Rev. Edmund Foster published at Concord "The Works of God declared by one Generation to another. A Sermon, preached at Littleton, Dec. 4, 1815. On the completion of a Century from the Incorporation of that Town." In 1817 an interesting tercentenary was held in New York, where the Rev. Frederick Christian Schaeffer, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in that city, published —

"The Blessed Reformation." A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, in the City of New-York, On the 31st of October, 1817, on occasion of the Solemnization of the Third Centurial Jubilee in commemoration of the Reformation commenced by Dr. Martin Luther, On the 31st of October, 1517. Accompanied with an account of the solemnities and the order of divine service.

In 1818 the Rev. John Pierce published at Boston "A Discourse delivered 9 November, 1817. The Lord's Day after the Completion of a Century from the Gathering of the Church in Brookline." The great New England bicentennial in 1820 was extensively commemorated:

A Discourse, delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1820. In Commemoration of the first Settlement of New-England. By Daniel Webster. Boston: . . . 1821.

The Fathers of New England. A Sermon, delivered in the Church in Essex-Street, Boston, December 22, 1820. Being the Second Centennial Celebration of the Landing of the Fathers at Plymouth. By James Sabine. . . . Boston: . . . 1821.

The Jubilee of New England. A Sermon, preached in Hadley, December 22, 1820, . . . being Two Centuries from that Event. By John Woodbridge, . . . Northampton. . . . 1821.

The character and sufferings of the Pilgrims. A Sermon, delivered at Pittsfield, (Mass.) December 22, 1820; being just Two Centuries from the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. . . . By Heman Humphrey, . . . Pittsfield: . . . 1821.

Two Discourses, on the completion of the Second Century from the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England at Plymouth, 22 Dec. 1620, delivered at Cambridge 24 Dec. 1820. By Abiel Holmes, . . . Cambridge: . . . 1821.

A Sermon, delivered Dec. 31, 1820. The last Lord's Day in the Second Century since our Forefathers first settled in Plymouth. By Nathanael Emmons, D.D. Pastor of the Church in Franklin. Dedham: . . . 1821.

In 1821 the Rev. Henry Ware published at Boston "Two Discourses containing the History of the Old North and New Brick Churches, united as the Second Church in Boston, delivered May 20, 1821, at the completion of a Century from the dedication of the present Meeting-House in Middle Street." In 1822 the Rev. Jacob Flint published at Boston "Two Discourses, containing the History of the Church and Society in Cohasset, delivered December 16, 1821; being the first Lord's Day after the completion of a Century from the gathering of the Church in that place, and the ordination of the first Pastor." In 1824 the Rev. Asa Eaton published at Boston his "Historical Account of Christ Church, Boston. A Discourse, delivered in said Church, on Sunday, December 28, 1823. By the Rector." [1] In 1825 Charles S. Daveis published at Portland, Maine, "An Address delivered on the Commemoration at Fryeburg, May 19, 1825." This, commemorating "the First Centennial Celebration of 'Lovel's Fight'" (which occurred May 8, 1725), was the first centennial celebration of a battle that I have noted. In 1828 the Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler published at Cambridge "A Sermon preached in Christ Church, Quincy, on completing a Century since its Formation, on Christmas Day, 1827;" and Joseph Story published at Boston "A Discourse pronounced at the request of the Essex Historical Society, on the 18th of September, 1828, in commemoration of the first Settlement of Salem, in the State of Massachusetts." [2] In 1829 the Rev. Charles W. Upham published at Salem "Principles of Congregationalism. The Second Century Lecture of the First Church." [3]

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[1] The Church, wrote Mr. Eaton (p. 7), was "first opened for publick worship on the 29th day of December," 1723.

[2] "There is yet among us One, who brings their revered forms before us with peculiar dignity, and is at once the representative of their age and our own. Generation after generation has passed away, and yet he survives, the model, and the monument of a century. . . . We have seen this centennial patriarch; and we count it among the triumphs of this day, that he yet lives, the delight of his friends, the crown of his profession, and the ornament of human nature" (pp. 13–14). No doubt the reference was to Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, who was born August 1, 1728, graduated at Harvard College in 1746, received the honorary degree of M.D. in 1783 (the first on whom it was bestowed), and died March 31, 1829.

[3] Not to be confused with Mr. Upham's "Principles of the Reformation. A Sermon preached November 16, 1826, at the Dedication of the House of Public

The year 1830, as was to be expected, saw a large crop of centennials, among them:

The History of the Old South Church in Boston, in Four Sermons, delivered May 9, & 16, 1830, being the First and Second Sabbaths after the Completion of a Century from the first occupancy of the present Meeting House. By Benjamin B. Wisner, . . . Boston: . . . 1830.

A Discourse delivered at Dorchester, on 17 June, 1830, To commemorate the completion of the Second Century from its Settlement by our Pilgrim Fathers. By John Pierce, D.D. Congregational Minister of Brookline. Boston: . . . 1830.

An Address delivered on the 28th of June, 1830, the anniversary of the Arrival of Governor Winthrop at Charlestown.[1] Delivered and Published at the Request of the Charlestown Lyceum. By Edward Everett. Charlestown: . . . 1830.

Memorials of the First Church in Dorchester, from its Settlement in New England, to the end of the Second Century. In two Discourses, delivered July 4, 1830. By the Pastor, Thaddeus Mason Harris. Boston: . . . 1830.

Two Hundred Years Ago. A Sermon preached to the First Church, on the close of their second Century, 29 August, 1830. By N. L. Frothingham. Boston: . . . 1830.[2]

Worship of the First Congregational Society in Salem. . . . Salem: . . . 1826." A second edition, with a slightly different title-page, was published at Salem in 1827.

Curiously enough, the date of Mr. Upham's Century Lecture in 1829 is not given in his Principles of Congregationalism, though it is to be inferred that it was August 17. This is confirmed by the Salem Gazette of August 18: "The services at the First Church yesterday afternoon, were remarkably appropriate and interesting, . . . The discourse, by Mr. UPHAM, was historical in its nature, . . ." (p. 3/3). A longer account appeared in the same paper of August 21 (p. 2/5).

A striking illustration of what was said in a previous note (p. 412, above) is furnished by Mr. Upham's lecture. "As there is some misapprehension," he says in the appendix, "and diversity of opinion respecting the right mode of conforming dates in Old Style to dates in New Style," he devoted three pages to an elaborate discussion of the problem, reaching the conclusion: "The 17th of August, N.S. 1829, was therefore the Centennial day corresponding to the 6th of August, O.S. 1729" (pp. 63–65). Though this conclusion is of course correct, nevertheless the wrong day was selected in 1829. For Mr. Upham overlooked the fact that the event commemorated took place not in 1729 but in 1629, and that therefore the difference between Old Style and New Style was not eleven days but ten days. Hence the celebration in 1829 should have been held not on August 17 but on August 16. It is to be hoped that when the tercentenary is celebrated in 1929, the correct date will be chosen.

[1] "THIS day completes the second century since Governor WINTHROP explored the banks of the Mystic River" (p. 3). Under date of June 17, 1630, Winthrop wrote: "We went to Mattachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down. We went up Mistick River about six miles" (Journal, 1908, i. 50).

[2] "Another thus expresses himself," wrote Mr. Frothingham, and then went on to quote from what in a footnote he called "President Oakes's Century Sermon, 1673" (p. 14). Obviously, no "Century Sermon" could have been preached

An Address to the Citizens of Boston, on the XVII[th] of September, M DCCC XXX, the close of the Second Century from the First Settlement of the City. By Josiah Quincy, . . . Boston: . . . 1830.[1]

An Ode: pronounced before the Inhabitants of Boston, September the Seventeenth, 1830, at the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of the City. By Charles Sprague. Boston: . . . MDCCCXXX.

An Address delivered the VIII of October, MDCCCXXX, the Second Centennial Anniversary, of the Settlement of Roxbury. By H. A. S. Dearborn. . . . Roxbury: . . . MDCCCXXX.

Change, a Poem pronounced at Roxbury, . . . By Thomas Gray, Jr. M.D. Roxbury: . . . MDCCCXXX.

It has already been shown that a "century sermon" was preached April 2, 1794, "at the special desire of Mr. Ebenezer Cobb," — not because he was a distinguished person, but merely because on that day he became a centenarian. In January, 1803, 1804, and 1805, the birthday of Benjamin Franklin was celebrated in Boston by the Boston Franklin Association,[2] and so it is likely that the centennial of his birth in 1806 was also celebrated in Boston or elsewhere, but if so the fact has escaped my notice. If it was not, then doubtless as Washington was the first distinguished American to have his birthday regularly celebrated during his lifetime,[3] so too was he the first to have the centennial of his birthday celebrated. No doubt this was done extensively throughout the country, but only one

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here in 1673, and the title was probably used by inadvertence for "Election Sermon," as the words quoted (with some inaccuracy) are taken from pp. 53–54 of Urian Oakes's "New-England Pleaded with, And pressed to consider the things which concern her Peace, at least in this her Day: . . . Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Boston in New-England, May. 7. 1673. being the Day of Election there. . . . Cambridge, . . . 1673."

[1] On September 7, 1630, it was "ordered, that Trimountaine shalbe called Boston" (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 75).

The chief marshal in 1830 was William Sullivan, who enclosed the "truncheon" borne by him, together with a letter, in a parchment roll directed: "The Chief Marshall of the Centennial Celebration 17th September, 1830 to the Chief Marshall of 17th September 1930." A few months ago this roll was found "down in the dim corners of the dusty vaults in the City Hall. No one knew it was there and apparently no one cared. It had lain there for nearly a hundred years, gathering dust and waiting for the day when it should be brought out again and shown the sunlight. Now that it has been discovered it will not be forgotten, and when the right day comes it will be brought forth once more and placed in the proper hands." See an interesting account, with documents, in the Boston Evening Transcript of January 23, 1926 (part iii, p. 3/6).

[2] See our Publications, x. 288 and note.

[3] See p. 413 note.

instance need be specified. Dr. Charles Caldwell published at Lexington, Kentucky, "A Discourse on the First Centennial Celebration of the Birth-day of Washington, delivered by request, to the Citizens of Lexington, On the 22nd of February, 1832." In 1833 the Rev. Isaac Braman published at Haverhill "A Centennial Discourse, delivered at the Re-opening of the Congregational Meeting-House in New-Rowley, December 6, 1832." In 1835 the Rev. Samuel M. Worcester published at Salem "A Discourse, delivered on the First Centennial Anniversary of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass. April 26, 1835;" William Brigham published at Boston "An Address delivered before the Inhabitants of Grafton, on the First Centennial Anniversary of that Town, April 29, 1835;" and Ralph Waldo Emerson published at Concord "A Historical Discourse delivered before the Citizens of Concord, 12th September, 1835. On the Second Centennial Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town." In 1836 appeared the following:

A Centennial Discourse, delivered before the Congregational Society in the Third Parish of Dedham, January 17th, 1836. By John White, . . . Dedham: . . . 1836.

Discourses comprising a History of the First Congregational Church in Providence. Delivered June 19, 1836. After the close of a Century from the Formation of the Church. By Edward B. Hall, . . . Providence: . . . 1836.

Address delivered on the Centennial Anniversary of St. John's Lodge, No. I. At Portsmouth, N.H. June 24, 1836. By Charles W. Moore, . . . Boston: . . . 1836.[1]

A Centennial Discourse: delivered before the South Congregational Church and Society, in Dedham, Mass. June 26, 1836. By Calvin Durfee, . . . Boston: . . . 1836.

A Discourse delivered at Providence, August 5, 1836, in commemoration of the First Settlement of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations. Being the Second Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Providence. By John Pitman, . . . Providence: . . . MDCCCXXXVI.

An Historical Address, delivered before the Citizens of the Town of Dedham, on the Twenty-first of September, 1836, being the Second Centennial Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town. By Samuel F. Haven. Dedham: . . . 1837.

The most elaborate celebration that had thus far occurred in this country was that commemorating the bicentennial of the founding of Harvard College on September 8, 1836.[2] In 1840, among others,

[1] The centenary of the first Masonic lodge in Boston was celebrated on April 30, 1833: see Harvey N. Shepard, History of Saint John's Lodge of Boston (1917), pp. 91–95. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. George P. Anderson.

[2] See J. Quincy, History of Harvard University (1840), i. 1–6, ii. 442, 639–708.

two interesting celebrations occurred. One was at Hartford, Connecticut, on April 21:

Connecticut Historical festival. The celebration of the second centennial anniversary of the adoption of a constitution by the colony of Connecticut took place at Hartford, on the 21st instant. The oration was delivered, according to appointment, by Noah Webster, LL.D. now in the eighty-third year of his age. . . . The banquet which followed was partaken of by many distinguished personages. . . . Toasts, speeches, songs, &c. in good style, were mingled with the feast. In concluding an account of the ceremonies of the occasion, the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser says:

"But though less intellectual, perhaps, there was a brilliant affair connected with the festival, on the preceding evening, which was not less interesting, while it was appropriate and beautiful in its conception, and exceedingly picturesque in its effect. It was a fete given by the hon. Thomas Day, president of the society, and his lady, to the members of the society, the guests from abroad, and the ladies of Hartford, which was in part a masquerade — the first, doubtless, ever seen in 'the land of steady habits.' The masquers consisted of several gentlemen, dressed in the ancient costumes of the puritans, and twelve or fourteen young ladies, habited in the rich brocades of their grandmothers and great grandmothers, in generations that are passed. Nor were these habits fancy dresses, made up for the occasion, but real *bona fide* dresses of the olden time, which have been wisely and with holy reverence preserved. The thought of bringing them forth from the old oaken drawers was bright and sudden, and the part assumed were enacted to the life." [1]

The other was thus described:

ANNIVERSARY OF PRINTING

By general concurrence, and without any specific authority for the selection, the 24th of June seems to have been assigned for celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the art of printing. At Leipsic, the great book mart of Europe, the day was to be ushered in with ringing of bells, . . . The ceremonies and festivities were to occupy three days. Similar exercises were to take place at Hamburg, Berlin, Copenhagen, Mayence, Cologne, Weimar and other cities.

The principal celebrations of the day on this side of the Atlantic, took

[1] Niles' Register, May 9, 1840, lviii. 146. For pageants in this country, see our Publications, xvii. 313–315 and notes.

place at Boston and Philadelphia — of the former the Boston Advertiser says:

The 400th anniversary of the invention of printing was celebrated in this city, on Wednesday, by the printers, and the professors of the kindred arts and trades — the booksellers, bookbinders, type-founders, paper-makers, &c. Most of the offices, stores, warehouses and shops, devoted to these trades, were closed, and the ordinary avocations were suspended. Many of those employed in these several occupations united in a public celebration and dinner at Faneuil Hall — still more celebrated the day with their families, in other holiday amusements.[1]

A bibliography of American anniversary celebrations[2] would doubtless fill volumes, and, if compiled, the result would hardly be worth the labor involved. Nevertheless, they are not without interest, and these rambling notes may well close with some titles selected for the light they throw on the great variety and sometimes unexpected nature of the events commemorated.

Address at a meeting of the Descendants of Richard Haven, of Lynn, at Framingham, Mass., August 29, 1844. Being the Second Centennial Anniversary of his landing in New England. By John C. Park, of Boston. . . . Boston: . . . 1844.[3]

A Sermon for the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the standing of the First Church in Newbury, on its present site. October 20, 1846. By Rev. Leonard Withington, . . . Newburyport: . . . 1846.

A Discourse in commemoration of the Forty-Sixth Anniversary of the Mite Society; and the Two Hundred and Fifteenth Anniversary of the First Baptist Church in America. By Henry Jackson, Pastor of Central Baptist Church, Newport, R.I. Providence: . . . 1854.[4]

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[1] Niles' Register, July 11, 1840, lviii. 292.

[2] It is hardly necessary to add that celebrations are frequently held on the 5th, 10th, 15th, 25th, 50th, 75th, 125th, 150th, 175th, 225th, etc., anniversaries — not to mention anniversaries in between.

[3] In 1845 was published at Albany a volume filling 244 pages entitled, "The Berkshire Jubilee, celebrated at Pittsfield, Mass. August 22 and 23, 1844;" and also "A Sermon, delivered at Pittsfield, August 22, 1844, on the occasion of the Berkshire Jubilee. By Mark Hopkins, D.D." This Berkshire Jubilee may perhaps be regarded as a forerunner of Old Home Week.

In 1850 was published at Boston "The Bi-Centennial Book of Malden. Containing the Oration and Poem delivered on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town, May 23, 1849." The earliest example of "bicentennial" given in the Oxford English Dictionary is dated 1883, and of "bicentenary" 1862.

[4] The title on the cover reads: "Mr. Jackson's Historical Discourse, delivered at the Forty-Sixth Anniversary of the Oldest Missionary Society in Rhode

Centenary of the New Jerusalem. Twelve Addresses in commemoration of the Last Judgment in the Spiritual World, 1757, delivered before the General Convention of the New Church, at the Annual Session in Cincinnati, 1857; with a sketch of the life and writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. New York: . . . 1859.

Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, August 29, 1862: commemorative of the Planting of the Popham Colony on the Peninsula of Sabino, August 19, O.S., 1607, establishing the Title of England to the Continent. Published under the direction of the Rev. Edward Ballard, . . . Portland: . . . 1863.[1]

The First Century of Dummer Academy. A Historical Discourse, delivered at Newbury, Byfield Parish, August, 12, 1863. . . . By Nehemiah Cleaveland. Boston: . . . 1865.

The Tercentenary Book. Commemorative of the Life and Work of John Knox, of the Huguenot Martyrs of France, and the Establishment of Presbytery in England. Containing an account of the "Tercentenary Celebration" as observed by the Presbyterians of Philadelphia, Nov. 20, 1872; . . . Philadelphia: . . . [Copyrighted 1873]

Proceedings on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the permanent Settlement of Weymouth, with an Historical Address by Charles Francis Adams, Jr. July 4th, 1874. Boston: . . . 1874.[2]

Island, and the Two Hundredth and Fifteenth Anniversary of the First Baptist Church in America, March 5th, 1854." On p. 2 is printed the request of the secretary of "The Female Missionary Mite Society" for the publication of the sermon. "We are convened this evening," says Mr. Jackson, "to perform religious services in commemoration of the *Forty-Sixth Anniversary of the* 'Mite Society,' it having been organized on Tuesday, November 11th, 1806, forty-seven years since, in November" (p. 3).

[1] This is a volume of 368 pages.

"The First Colonization of New-England. An Address, delivered at the erection of a Monumental Stone . . . August 29th, 1862, . . . By John A. Poor. New-York: . . . 1863." The address on pp. 5–46 and the appendix on pp. 47–98 are identical with pp. 57–98 and 353–362 of the Memorial Volume. In the same year was printed at Boston, "Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Speech of John Wingate Thornton, Esq., at the Fort Popham Celebration, August 29, 1862, under the auspices of the Maine Historical Society."

Other celebrations were held in 1864 and 1865:

An Address on the Character of the Colony founded by George Popham, at the Mouth of the Kennebec River August 19th, [O.S.] 1607. Delivered in Bath on the Two Hundred and Fifty-Seventh Anniversary of that Event. By Hon. Edward E. Bourne, of Kennebunk. . . . Portland: . . . 1864.

Responsibilities of the Founders of Republics: An Address on the Peninsula of Sabino, On the Two-Hundred and Fifty-eighth Anniversary of the Planting of the Popham Colony, Aug. 29, 1865. By Hon. James W. Patterson. . . . Boston: . . . 1865.

[2] On September 2, 1635, "The name of Wessaguscus is also changed, & hereafter to be called Waymothe" (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 156).

Address delivered before the Essex Institute, October 5, 1874, at the Centennial Anniversary of the meeting of the Provincial Assembly in Salem, October 5, 1774. By Abner C. Goodell, Jr. Salem. Published for the Essex Institute. 1874.[1]

Memorial Services at the Centennial Anniversary of Leslie's Expedition to Salem, Sunday, February 26, 1775, on Friday, February 26, 1875, by the City Authorities of Salem. . . . Salem, Mass., 1875.

Exercices at the Bi-Centennial Commemoration of the Burning of Medfield by Indians in King Philip's War, February 21, 1876. Medfied: . . . 1876.

Centennial Celebration of the First Mass in Connecticut, (June, 1781.) Sunday, June 26, 1881, in St. Peter's Church, Hartford. Hartford: . . . 1881.

Address at the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of The Building of the Old Meeting-House at Hingham. On the Eight of August, 1881. By Charles Eliot Norton. Cambridge: . . . 1882.[2]

Denison Memorial: Ipswich, Mass., September 20, 1882. Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Major-General Daniel Denison. . . . Printed by the Request of The Denison Memorial Committee.

The Oldest School in America. An Oration By Phillips Brooks, D.D. and a Poem By Robert Grant At the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Boston Public Latin School, April 23, 1885 . . . Boston and New York . . . 1885

The "Chapel of Ease" and Church of Statesmen. Commemorative Services at the completion of Two Hundred and Fifty Years since the gathering of the First Church of Christ in Quincy. . . . 1890

Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Introduction of Printing into New York by William Bradford. Commemoration by the New York Historical Society on April 8; the Grolier Club on April 11, and a Banquet by the Printing and Allied Trades on April 12, 1893.[3]

Proceedings at the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the Free School at Dedham, Massachusetts, January 11, 1895. [Cut] Dedham: . . . 1895.

[John] Milton Tercentenary. [Massachusetts Historical Society, December 9, 1908.][4]

The Centenary of the Monroe Doctrine [November 30 and December 1, 1923][5]

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[1] Also printed in Essex Institute Historical Collections, xii. 1–52.

[2] "Discourse delivered to the First Parish in Hingham on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Opening of its Meeting-House for Public Worship. Sunday, January 8, 1882. By Rev. Edward Augustus Horton. . . . Hingham: . . . 1882." "The Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts, September 15, 1885. Hingham: . . . 1885." Thus in five years Hingham rejoiced in no less than three celebrations.

[3] The title on the cover is not quite so tautological: "Bi-Centennial of Printing in New York."

[4] Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlii. 48–67.

[5] "The Annals A Supplement to Volume CXI January, 1924." The title on the cover reads: "Supplement to The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Philadelphia, January, 1924."

Mr. Arthur Howland Buffinton presented a communication on

JOHN NELSON'S VOYAGE TO QUEBEC IN 1682: A CHAPTER IN THE FISHERIES CONTROVERSY

In the early summer of 1682, John Nelson, a Boston merchant, made a voyage to Quebec. Since direct intercourse between Boston and Canada was at that time quite unusual, this fact of itself is enough to excite curiosity. Who then was John Nelson, and why did he undertake such a trip? The brief "Observations on my voyage to Canada," [1] which he jotted down some time after his return, are silent as to his purpose. They merely describe the government and economic life of Canada, giving special attention to the fur trade and its management. Other documents of the period, however, show that Nelson was on a public mission connected with the respective rights of the French and English to the Acadian fisheries, and thereby is revealed a hitherto unknown chapter in that perennial controversy.

The crux of the controversy was stated more than two centuries ago by a French governor of Acadia. "It grieves me to the heart," he wrote, "to see Messieurs les Bastonnais enrich themselves in our domains; for the base of their commerce is the fish which they catch off our coasts, and send to all parts of the world." [2] In brief, those who chiefly profited from the fisheries were not those who exercised political control over the adjacent coasts.

John Nelson is not entirely unknown to students of New England history. He was the nephew and heir of Sir Thomas Temple, proprietor and governor of Acadia from 1656 to 1670. The nephew seems to have come to Boston shortly after his uncle's death in 1674, perhaps to settle the estate. If he sought assets, he can have found little but a certain amount of good will, for Temple's colonial venture had, from a financial standpoint, been a failure. He had, however, made some friends in Boston and had formed valuable

[1] The Massachusetts Historical Society has two copies of Nelson's Observations. One is a separate manuscript, with no indication as to its source; the other is in the Gay Transcripts, Miscellaneous, i. 99, from Stowe Mss. 163, folio 172. There are no essential differences in the two texts. The appended copy is taken from the manuscript.

[2] Quoted by Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, i. 111.

commercial connections with the French of Acadia. Utilizing these advantages, such as they were, Nelson began to trade with the French inhabitants of the east country, and in a short time had amassed a considerable fortune.[1] He was not prominent in public affairs; in fact he was not even a freeman. In a Puritan commonwealth he remained, according to Hutchinson,[2] an Episcopalian and was of a "gay, free temper," either one of which facts would probably have sufficed to debar him from public office. In short, he was one of a numerous class of men, prominent in the commercial life of the colony, who were excluded from public preferment by the religious temper of the ruling minority.

From these facts, and from the contents of the "Observations," one would infer that Nelson's voyage was made in the furtherance of his private interests. Proof that he also transacted public business is contained in a letter of Frontenac to the government of Massachusetts, written in August, 1682, not long after Nelson's visit. In this letter Frontenac expresses regret that, having been at Montreal, he did not see Nelson, and the hope that he was sufficiently well received to come again. He adds: "the recommendations which you made to me were too considerable for to faile, and to neglect the oportunity which you offered." [3]

To understand the situation in 1682, and why the government of Massachusetts was making propositions at that time to the Governor of New France, one must consider the general course of Anglo-French relations in that quarter of the world during the dozen years which had elapsed since the French regained control of Acadia.

When Temple surrendered possession to the French in 1670, Acadia contained a total population of about four hundred souls, scattered over the country from the Penobscot to Port Royal.[4] During the preceding period of English rule the inhabitants had

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[1] Documentary proof that as early as 1677 Nelson was engaged in trade to the eastward is to be found in Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 159. His estate in 1687 was rated at £40. See the First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston (1876), p. 102.

[2] History of Massachusetts Bay (1765), i. 378 note.

[3] Massachusetts Archives, ii. 520. A copy of this letter is appended.

[4] Collection de Manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires, et autres Documents Historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, i. 215. In citing this work the binder's title will henceforth be used, Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France.

become economically dependent upon Boston. The fur trade was their chief occupation, and the proceeds of the trade they sold to Boston traders for food, clothing, hardware, and goods to sell to the Indians.[1] As late as 1686 a French official described them as so infatuated with the fur trade that they raised little or no grain and did not even plant gardens.[2] The fisheries were left to the exploitation of the New England fishermen upon whom Temple had levied a small license fee of so much per vessel for the privilege.[3]

When Acadia was restored, the French government was confronted with a system of economic relations which violated every principle of the old colonial system. In this case, however, the government allowed expediency and not principle to govern its action. The Acadians must continue, for the time being, to draw the necessities of life from Boston, and however much the French would have liked to monopolize the fisheries, it was not possible immediately to establish a flourishing fishing industry in Acadia. For the moment, therefore, it was decided to continue Temple's system of license fees.[4]

Another factor in the situation was the relations of the home governments. From 1670 to 1674 England was the ally of France against the Dutch, and especially after the outbreak of war in 1672 English naval assistance was of great importance. Even when England deserted France, in 1674, the latter dared not take offence, for the French were no longer able to control the sea and feared an attack upon Canada.[5] Once and again, therefore, orders were sent to the French officials in America to live at peace with the English.[6]

With their hands tied in this fashion, the French officials in America developed an increasing sense of irritation at the conduct of their New England neighbors. What annoyed them was the fact that despite the pursuance of a policy which they had every reason to regard as

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[1] A list of goods desired by St. Castin and Marson is to be found in Massachusetts Archives, lxi. 157. Weeden, in his Economic and Social History of New England (i. 263 note 6) prints part of this document.

[2] Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, i. 388.

[3] Id., i. 199, 203; New York Colonial Documents, iv. 476.

[4] Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, i. 203, 207, 209, 212, 217.

[5] Id., i. 227.

[6] Id., i. 236, 263, 266, 268.

liberal, the English continued to exploit Acadia as if it still belonged to the King of England. A certain number of fishermen may have paid the license fee, but for the most part the New Englanders fished along the coast, traded with the French and Indians, and took coal from the mines of Cape Breton in entire disregard of French rules and regulations.[1] When Frontenac in 1673 protested at their conduct, the government of Massachusetts replied indifferently that the laws of the place where the offence was committed should be sufficient security, thus plainly intimating that the French might enforce their regulations if they could.[2]

Moreover, in 1674, a certain Boston sea captain joined with a Dutch privateer in a raid upon Acadia, which resulted in the capture of all the French forts from the Penobscot to St. Johns. The French governor of Acadia was carried a prisoner to Boston, and the plunder of the French forts was sold there. Frontenac believed that the New Englanders had instigated the attack to weaken the French and sent a sharp letter of protest to the Massachusetts government.[3]

This interloping trade, as he called it, between Boston and Acadia was known to Edward Randolph, who reported it to the Lords of Trade in 1676 as one more instance of the lawless habits of the traders of Massachusetts.[4] He also reported that the government of Massachusetts felt a perfect hatred toward the French, believing that they had had a hand in the Indian war. Perhaps Randolph exaggerated. At any rate, four years later Governor Bradstreet reported that the French of Nova Scotia were "but few and weake; wee keepe freindship with them and those at Canada." He added, however, that the French troubled the fishermen by requiring the payment of a license fee.[5]

Substantially, then, the situation in 1682, when Nelson made his voyage to Quebec, was unaltered. Acadia, as described by the

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[1] Talon's Memoir on Acadia (1676), in Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, i. 240, is a good description of the state of affairs in Acadia at this time.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, ii. 514.

[3] This episode is described in detail by C. W. Tuttle in his Historical Papers (1889).

[4] R. N. Toppan, Edward Randolph, ii. 241, and Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), ii. 224.

[5] 3 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vii. 334, 338; Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1677–1680, No. 1360, i.

Governor and Intendant of New France in letters written the preceding autumn, was still sparsely populated, poverty-stricken, torn by feuds, and economically dependent upon the English, who were coming and going to trade and fish as they pleased.[1] At the same time that he was describing the situation to the king, Frontenac wrote another letter of protest to the government of Massachusetts, which was to be backed up by a personal visit to Boston by La Vallière, the Governor of Acadia.[2] It is quite possible that to this letter, and to the visit of La Vallière, if it occurred, may be ascribed the origin of Nelson's voyage to Canada.

It is now possible to consider the question as to the nature of the propositions which Nelson bore to Frontenac, and to raise the further question why the government of Massachusetts should at this time have adopted such a conciliatory attitude. The direct evidence bearing upon these questions is very scanty.

In June, 1682, just about the time Nelson was starting for Quebec, Randolph wrote to the Commissioners of Customs that the Governor desired to know whether ships from Nova Scotia, manned by Frenchmen, could trade at Boston.[3] This may, or may not, have some bearing upon Nelson's mission.

In October, 1682, the Massachusetts General Court so far took cognizance of the complaints of Frontenac about irregularities in trading, fishing, and getting coal within the territories of the French king as to declare its disapproval of such practices and to warn persons so offending that they would be liable to the penalties provided for by the laws of the places where such offences were committed.[4]

More illuminating still is a third bit of evidence. It consists of an order by La Vallière, the Governor of Acadia, dated October 22, 1682, and issued pursuant to an order of Frontenac, that the English might fish on the Acadian coast on payment of a tax, and that they might secure licenses from Mr. Nelson of Boston.[5] It may be added that

[1] Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, i. 281, 283, 285; New York Colonial Documents, ix. 148, 165, 917.

[2] Massachusetts Archives, ii. 518.

[3] R. N. Toppan, Edward Randolph, iii. 168.

[4] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, v. 373.

[5] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1681–1685, No. 1863, v.; Gay Transcripts, State Papers, iii. 47.

Frontenac's successor, La Barre, sanctioned the continuance of this arrangement.[1]

One hesitates to draw definite conclusions from such scanty evidence, but it is clear that Massachusetts was seeking a friendly understanding with the French. In the language of diplomacy there was to be a *détente*. Massachusetts would at least submit to the system of licensing for the privilege of fishing on the Acadian coast and would frown officially upon the wanton disregard by her inhabitants of French rights. Whether some sort of commercial reciprocity was proposed, one may only conjecture.

Such a manifest change of attitude on the part of Massachusetts demands explanation, and the answer is probably to be found in circumstances which had no immediate connection with the relations of that colony to the French. It was at this time that the controversy with the English government was reaching an acute stage. In October, 1681, the colony had received a stiff letter from the King threatening the issue of a *quo warranto* against the charter if the colony did not comply with his demands. The game of evasion and delay was evidently about played out. The General Court at a special session held in February, 1682, had made large concessions, and in response to repeated demands by the king had chosen agents to go to England to answer the royal charges.[2]

In view of this situation it was the part of wisdom for the Massachusetts government to conciliate the French. Statesmanship required that there be but one enemy at a time. The possibility that too great pressure might drive the colony into the arms of the French had evidently occurred to Randolph, for he took pains in April, 1681, to assure the English government that there was no danger. "They have soe great a peique against them," he wrote, "that they want onely an opportunity to dispossesse them in Nova Scotia Canada & Newfound Land."[3] Randolph was doubtless right in feeling that union against England was unthinkable, but a temporary understanding was another matter. That the rulers of Massachusetts saw

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[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1681–1685, No. 1863, i.; Gay Transcripts, State Papers, iii. 39.

[2] Records of Massachusetts Bay, v. 333 ff.; Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 350 ff.

[3] R. N. Toppan, iii. 95.

the desirability of such an understanding and took steps to bring it about is but one more proof of the ability with which the affairs of the colony were conducted at this time. Their choice of Nelson for so delicate a mission is further proof that to get the best man they were willing to overlook his attitude toward religion. Nelson might be an Episcopalian, but no other man in the colony enjoyed such friendly relations with the French.

As for the French, the most probable explanation of the unusual friendliness with which they received these advances is that they too were involved in a conflict which made it advisable for them to rid themselves of one potential enemy. In their case the conflict was with the Iroquois Confederation, which in 1681 had begun a series of raids on the western allies of the French. Behind the Iroquois, instigating their attacks, the French thought they saw the fur traders of Albany and the government of New York. A struggle for the control of the western fur trade, on which depended the very existence of New France, seemed to be at hand. What was more natural than to arrange a *modus vivendi* with New England, which would at least maintain the *status quo* in Acadia, while New France gave its whole strength to the all-important conflict in the West?

This is perhaps all that Frontenac intended. His weaker successor, La Barre, in 1684, on the eve of his expedition against the Iroquois, actually invited the Boston government to give him their assistance.[1] One recalls the attempt of the French in 1651 to barter commercial privileges for an alliance against these same Iroquois.[2] In this case, however, the privileges had been granted, and La Barre had nothing to bargain with.

Unfortunately this Anglo-French entente in America was of short duration. Its rupture was due to the action of the French government. The situation which obtained during the controversies of the late nineteenth century was thus reversed. At that time the principal obstacle to a peaceful settlement lay in the inflamed state of feeling of the fishing interests of New England and Canada. The governments at Washington and London were disposed to be con-

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[1] Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1681–1685, No. 1863; Gay Transcripts, State Papers, iii. 43.

[2] This early episode in the relations of New England and the French is narrated at length by S. Roy Weaver in the Journal of Political Economy, xix. 411–415.

ciliatory. In the seventeenth century the local authorities in America had actually reached an agreement, which was upset by the action of the French government.

The real beginning of the fisheries controversy dates not from the beginnings of the industry, as is sometimes supposed, but from the seizure, in 1684, by a certain Berger, who was acting Governor of Acadia, and who held a concession from the French government for the establishment of a fishing industry in Acadia, of eight New England fishing vessels.[1] This was but part of that aggressive policy, adopted by the French court in the eighties of the seventeenth century, of monopolizing all the resources of the vast areas claimed by the French crown in America, and of excluding the English from all intercourse with the French colonies and the Indian tribes who were claimed as subjects or allies. It was this challenge to the fishing and trading interests of New England, and to the fur trade interests of New York, which accounts for the hostility of the northern colonies towards the French. It was not because England and France were at war that they fought the French, it was to protect their own interests. Whether or not the colonial wars were inevitable is a question not to be answered here, but had there been adopted the policy which Nelson represented, and which in 1682 gained at least a momentary triumph, their outbreak might have been long delayed.

OBSERVATIONS ON MY VOYAGE TO CANADA MADE IN JULY *1682*

Wee sailed from Boston in June and in the middle of the same month arrived at the Gulfe of Canceau, where meeting ffrench Ships by their advice wee went through and so saved about 70 or 80 Leagues Passage about Cape Britton ffrom this Gulf wee by our Chart sailed for Cape Gaspa about 80 or 90 Leagues distant from Canceau and in three days made Isle Peirce Bonaventure and the Cape lying in about 50 degr Northern Lat, from w^{ch} being the enterance of the generall fflood of S^{t}. Lawrence, wee sailed N. N. West till wee were to the Northwards of 52: where wee mett a ffrench ship whose Company wee designed to keep up the River to Quebec, but by ffoggs, ill weather and better sailing wee soon lost her and forced to seek out our own way, wee mett contrary winds, were about 14 dayes before wee made Land on both Sides,

[1] Documents relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, i. 304, 329, 332; Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1681–1685, Nos. 1863, 1985; id., 1685–1688, No. 545.

w^{ch} was very mountanous and att great distance ouer course being S. W. and the wind reigning that way, wee were forced to turn itt up and burrowing in a ffogg very near the North West side wee spyed a house, from whence came off in an Indian Birch Canou 2 ffrench men, 2 Indians & a ffather Jesuit, by whom wee were informed that the House was no continuall habitation but a Trading Place att appointed Seasons with the Natives, and that wee were 30 Leagues from the Great River of Sagane and warned us of the danger of shoales and Tides w^{ch} from that place they are very violent. From this wee were 14 dayes in generall vigilance and carefullness both by use of Lead and good looking out before wee came to Quebec, where when arrived, wee were entertained with all imaginable Civility both by the Major of the Place who officiated in place of the Earl of Frontenac he being absent at a Town called Monreall about 60 Leagues higher, as also by the Intendant and Bishops, Superiour of the Jesuits, Recolles &c. who assisted me in all our Curiosities, either of their particular houses or the place in w^{ch} thô the Town be small about 400 houses whose buildings most part stone and indifferent regular, the Magnificence of their Churches, Bishops Pallace and religious houses (of w^{ch} there are five) I most admired being both by Structure and design equall to most in Europe, and whose Revenues are not inconsiderable arising both from the place and from ffrance The Place is ruled by a gov^{r} and Intendant from the King and Councill; upon the place of w^{ch} the Bishop is alwayes one. The People have accomodated themselves to the hardships of the place, thô vastly cold, wild and desert; and are become as expert in hunting as the Natiues, whereby great numbers get their Livelyhoods; others apply themselves to Husbandry with reasonable good Success, the Ground being sufficiently fertile. The most and greatest profitts of the Place arises from the Trade with the Natives w^{ch} is so considerable as to be computed at about 200000$^{\text{ł}}$ per ann; which Trade thô free for every Inhabitant yet at last falls into the hands of a Company w^{ch} farms itt of the King, and payes the gov$^{r's}$ Pencon of about 35000 Livres p ann, and the Intendants Pention 12000$^{\text{ł}}$ the Councill have each 300li p ann there is also 2 other subordinate goverm^{ts} the one is Monreall and the other the 3 Rivers, both which have Pencõns. The Company draws ¼ p^{t} of all beaver and 3li upon a ħħ Brandy 40 sħ ħ^{ds} wine, 6^{d} p ł tobacco all other things free. ffrom the ffrench hunters, of w^{ch} there are alwayes good numbers, arises a double benefit both of profitt and security, thereby being capable of encountring y^{e} Natives in their own Stratagems and hardships, both w^{ch} they are often forced to use in their own defence, notwithstanding the endeavors that the Jesuits

dayly make to reduce them to their faith by sending out supplying and continuing Missionaries in severall posts w^ch^ hitherto hath taken no great effect. Thes[e] Countries are prodigiously full of Lakes, Rivers &c: and tho[se] of vast Magnitudes; some Lakes being reported to be 3 & 400 Leagues about, all ffresh water; the main River is peopled from y^e^ Isle of Orleance upwards 150 Leagues; and from y^e^ mouth of the River called Cape Caspe Ships may sail ab^t^ 200 Leagues. Quebec is seated advantagiously and pleasantly and is 120 Leagues in y^e^ River. The most pt of y^e^ town burnt while I was there, w^ch^ will not soon be repaired; the number of y^e^ Inhabitants [by] Computation in y^e^ whole R is about 8 or 10000 families but greatly scattered. This being the sundry Collections of my memory I hope you will perdon y^e^ rudeness of their Composure, w^ch^ if any wayes usefull to you, will sufficiently answer y^e^ designes of S^r^

Your humble serv^t^
Jo: NELSON

Montreall the 2^d^ August: 1682 [1]

If m^r^ De Lauallier had rendred to you the letters that I had the honor to write to you, & to the gentlemen of the soueraigne Councill of Boston the Last Autumne, you would haue knowne that I haue allwaies made it my care to make the french of y^e^ costes of Lacadie, obserue the treaty of Bredah, which ought to be the rule of commerce of those of y^r^ Gouerment, with them; to the intent of Entertaining by good union the corespondence that the Kings ower Masters desier should be between them. You would haue allsoe seen the Complaintes that I made to You, upon the Contrauentions, which hath proceeded from your Side and which I can not cleare with m^r^ Nelson as you had impowered him, because of my absence from Quebeck, when he ariued, & that he can not resolue to find me in a canou att Monreall, not withstanding it would not haue requiered above 10 or 12 dayes for to make the voiadge if he take not this resolution, to which I would not Constrain him. I shall tell you s^r^ for answer to y^r^ Letter of the 8 of June, which I recd the first of August; That the English did neuer come as you Instance to fish or to take coales upon ower costes in the time of m^rs^ D'aulney and Latoure & Grand fountaine with out theire permision and agreament with them for what Each Vesell ought to [blurred] Licence & in which I haue more subject to Complaine since they not onely [illegible] vesells from Boston to the fishing and Coales which are found in the mines Belonging to perticular persons with out any agrea-

[1] This is printed from Massachusetts Archives, ii. 520.

ment of acknowledgment for to haue the Licence Butt more from this that under pretext of this fishing they make theire trade of peltry with the indians which was neuer permitted & is contrarie to y^{e} treaty of Bredah, & more against the right of nations the rules of the Sea & what is practised between Princes allied & united as are the Kings ower Masters, they haue come to Cape Briton & taken Goods of the ship Joseph belonging to the farmers of his Most Christian Majesty, & which hath bin car[ried to?] Boston. As I hope that you will giue orders to [illegible] make upon it Such reparations as I [illegible] & Comity demands.

Monsieur de Laualliere hath allsoe charge to agrea with those of y^{r} Gouerment which would come on fishing and Coales, the Condition upon which shall be accorded to them the s^{d} permissions They will haue Nothing more to doe but to adress themselves to him being sure that they will find him soe reasonable, that for A smale thing from theire side, the comerce will be hence forward Very peasable & without any Complaint on the one part or the other. I wish that m^{r} Nelson may haue found incouragement Enough from this place of Quebec for to Obleidge him to returne, If I had bin present I should haue found more place to haue favored him the recomendations which you made to me were too Considerable for to faile, & for to neglect the oportunity which you offered, to giue you to know the Esteeme that I haue for you and the Sincerity with which I am

translated out of ffrench

Sir Your Most humble and Most Obeidiant Serviture

FRONTENAC

Mr. ALFRED JOHNSON then read several letters written by Lord Bryce to him, in regard to the hundredth anniversary of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts and the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited a copy of John Baret's "Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionarie . . . English, Latine, Greeke, and French," published in 1580. The book has special interest since it contains in several places the autograph of Matthew Day, probably the Matthew Day who was the first printer in Cambridge. Mr. Lane said that there was every reason to suppose that the

book belonged to Day, and was in common use in one of the earliest and most important of American printing offices.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read

CHARLES BAGOT'S NOTES ON HOUSEKEEPING AND ENTERTAINING AT WASHINGTON, 1819

These amusing notes on the manners and customs of our capital in 1819, were compiled by Charles Bagot, British minister at Washington, in answer to a many-headed inquiry from his successor, Stratford Canning, the nature of which may easily be inferred from the answers. Canning, at the end of his stay (1825), added brief comments signed with his initials, and passed the document on to his successor, Charles Richard Vaughan. A contemporary copy is now among the Vaughan Manuscripts at All Souls' College, Oxford, the governing body of which has kindly accorded us permission to print.

Charles Bagot belonged to the intimate circle of George Canning, who warned him upon his appointment to the Washington legation in 1816, "The hardest lesson a British minister has to learn in America is not what to do, but what to bear." [1] Bagot nevertheless persisted in liking the Americans, and making them like him, to such good purpose that he became the most popular of the diplomatic corps. His policy reflected that of England's great foreign minister, Lord Castlereagh, who instructed him "to smooth all asperities between the two nations, and to unite them in sentiments of good will as well as of substantial interest, with each other." [2]

On Bagot's taking leave in 1819, John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary:

Mr. Bagot is a younger brother of Lord Bagot, a Peer of Great Britain; and his wife, a very discreet, amiable, and lovely woman, is daughter of Mr. William Wellesley Pole, Master of the Mint, and brother to the Duke of Wellington. Bagot is about thirty-five, tall, well proportioned, and with a remarkably handsome face; perfectly well-bred, and of digni-

[1] Josceline Bagot, George Canning and his Friends (1909), ii. 5. There is much on Washington social life of the times in this book, and in Stanley Lane-Poole's Life of Stratford Canning (1888), vol. i.

[2] Public Record Office, F. O. 5. 120, November 10, 1817.

fied and gentlemanly deportment. The principal feature of his character is discretion, one of the most indispensable qualities of a good negotiator; but neither his intellectual powers nor his acquisitions are in any degree striking. His temper is serious, but cheerful. He has no depth of dissimulation, though enough to suppress his feelings when it is for his interest to conceal them. He has resided here three years, and, though coming immediately after a war in which the national feelings here were highly exasperated against his country, has made himself universally acceptable. No English Minister has ever been so popular; and the mediocrity of his talents has been one of the principal causes of his success. This is so obvious that it has staggered my belief in the universality of the maxim that men of the greatest talents ought to be sought out for diplomatic missions. Bagot has been a better Minister than a much abler man would have been: better for the interest of England — better for the tranquillity of this country — better for the harmony between the two nations, for his own quiet, and for the comfort of those with whom he has had official intercourse here. For a negotiation that would require great energy of mind, activity of research, or fertility of expedients, such a man would not be competent; but to go through the ordinary routine of business and the common intercourse of society, to neutralize fretful passions and soothe prejudices a man of good breeding, inoffensive manners, and courteous deportment is nearer to the true diplomatic standard than one with the genius of Shakspeare, the learning of Bentley, the philosophical penetration of Berkeley, or the wit of Swift.[1]

Point is given to these remarks by the brief American career of Stratford Canning — a much more talented and distinguished diplomatist than the easy-going Bagot, but too imperious for the somewhat touchy Americans of that period, and too quick on the trigger to get along with the sharp-tempered Adams. According to Canning, Bagot's only shortcoming was his failure to travel — possibly he was unable to get beyond the hospitable halls of the Carrolls of Carrollton, with whom he was connected by marriage. Stratford Canning accordingly went on a tour through the Eastern part of the United States; an example which was followed by his successor, Charles Vaughan.[2]

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[1] Memoirs of J. Q. Adams, iv. 338.

[2] Vaughan's Viaticum of 1826 is printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, lix. 377–414.

The document is endorsed as follows:

SIR C. BAGOT'S MEMORANDUM FOR OUTFIT TO AMERICA WITH SIR S. CANNING'S NOTES

Wood is the fuel generally used in Washington, and you can buy in every town handsome brass chenets, but you will prefer burning coal in some of your rooms, and therefore I should say in answer to your Quere No. 2:

Have your grates from England but I should recommend you not to take them out with you, as the winter will be over when you arrive at Washington, and you can then see your fireplaces, decide upon the rooms in which you would like to have coal grates, send the exact measure of your fireplaces to England, & have grates sent out, & put up long before you can want them next year. You will be glad to have a stove in the centre of your house, but I doubt whether you could get an English, Russian or Swedish stove, well put up by any person in America and, as much depends upon that, you had I think better trust to such stoves as you will find in the country.

Remember to give the V. Consul at Alexandria, or Norfolk, directions to buy for you during the Summer a stock of *Kennel* (I do not know how to spell it) coal. It is occasionally brought from Liverpool as ballast, is sold as cheap as Virginian coal, and is of the greatest comfort & cheerfulness. The Virginian coal is good enough for ordinary purposes. — (I burned wood throughout. S. C.)

3. I did not take out a kitchen range, but your cook will be pleased that you should & I think that I would recommend you to do so. Large coppers and ovens you can have put up sufficiently well by Washington artists, but you should take a moderate batterie de cuisine, which is always worth its weight; and which you can get tinned as often as may be required by a rascally old German in Washington who will cheat you horribly toties quoties. Fail not to take a *smoke Jack*. I could not get one in all North America. I passed my whole time without one to my daily sorrow.

4. You need not take out a laundry maid, they wash by machines in America which wear out your linen very soon, but it looks very well. You will probably do as we did viz. contract with some woman to wash all the linen at so much per month. I used to regret on account of the appearance of my table linen that I had no mangle — they know of no such instrument & it might be worth your while to take out one of those small portable mangles which are sold in a shop in Oxford St., I think near the top of Bond Street. (Very useful. S. C.)

5. I would certainly advise you to take out a set of mahogany dining tables.

6. The dining room at Onis's house (and I think that that is the house which you will have) (This *was* the house I had. S. C.) is (I also think) about 40 feet long and of a handsome width with a fire place at each end but it is miserably low.[1]

7. If you have Onis's house you might dine between 30 & 40 people, but dinners of that size are inconvenient and I doubt whether they would be popular. In making preparations of all sorts for your table I would contemplate 24 persons as the outside. (This I did and found it answer. S. C.)

8. This is a large question. Suppers you will never give excepting on occasion of a great ball (not a little dance, for that is always a sideboard affair) (I advise no suppers whatever. S. C.) but I should recommend you to be prepared in this manner (as I was) viz: Take out a double service of Staffordshire ware, with its dishes, tureens, etc. etc. with a neat border or ornament to it. This will serve for the use of your household, and will look uniform and well. (All this I did and used them *once*. S. C.) When you give a ball I would recommend you, upon the same principle, to take out a number of well made white handled knives and three pronged steel forks with your crest upon them. You will find them come into play just as the Straffordshire ware does.[2]

When you order your stock of glass for your table (which you must do) order also a certain number (by the bye upon all questions of quantities you would do well to apply to my steward Calder who was with me in America and who is always to be found at 10 Wimpole Street) order I say, a certain number of ice, negus & lemonade glasses. These with tea cups, coffee cups and wine glasses (for they hand Madeira round at all parties) furnish all the *materiel* for your conversaziones.

9. The Americans are great whist players & will much thank you if at your parties you give them a separate quiet room in which they can play deep. Take out counters if you please, but no cards, use theirs & thus avoid bad jokes about the crown on the Ace of Spades, etc, etc.

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[1] The previous tenant of this house (now number 2017 I Street, N. W., home of the Arts Club of Washington) was Luis de Onis, minister of Spain. During Madison's administrations it was occupied by James Monroe. After Onis's departure in 1819 the house was taken by Bagot, and served as British Legation from 1819 to 1833, when Vaughan moved to the Decatur house on the northwest corner of Lafayette square. Information furnished by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, and booklet of the Arts Club of Washington, 1923–24.

[2] Harrison Gray Otis was much impressed by a ball and supper that he attended at the British legation in 1818. S. E. Morison, Life of H. G. Otis, ii. 212–13.

10. You had better take out some lamps, especially some of these sort of shaped ones which you can move about and place on furniture but you can get both oil and wax candles, tolerably good at Philadelphia.

11. The Americans drink scarcely any other wine than Madeira and they give you in their own houses much better than you can hope to give them. They all import their own wine & keep it with great care consequently it is hardly ever to be bought. If you can persuade your Captain to touch at Madeira [1] (which would break your voyage & show you the most curious island on the globe) you can take in your wine from thence and I should recommend you to take in at least two pipes of Medeira and two quarter casks of Malmsey Do. If the Captains stowage, & the bankers book, admit of your taking in more, do so by all means; and desire the Merchant to send you two pipes every year. You may thus be in possession when you leave the Country of two or more such pipes of Madeira as you can never expect to have upon any other terms. Malmsey Madeira is the finest of all desert wines and keeps for ever but take out some *pint* bottles to bottle it in. It is a singular thing that there is no such thing as a pint bottle in the U. States, at least none are to be bought there. You will be much judged of by your Champagne & the Americans prefer the sweet & sparkling. I think a dinner or supper is prized and talked of exactly in proportion to the quantity of Champagne given and the noise it makes *in uncorking!* You will want other French wines such as Sauterne, Grave, etc. etc. but they drink but little of them. I would give a commission in Paris for all these and have them shipped at Havre to the care of any of our Consuls at any of the Ports north of Norfolk but never have anything sent to Charleston or the Southern Ports. You can buy Claret cheap in America, but it is not good. I had my claret from England being satisfied that the English Merchants have the monopoly of all the best, but if you do not subscribe to this doctrine, have it sent from Bourdeaux in cases. You should start with a stock about equivalent to two hogsheads. Take English Porter & English or Scotch Ale. (Mine always turned sour. S. C.) They like it beyond everything; Have it made on purpose for you, & for exportation. Liqueurs are not much drunk. Those of the W. Indies you can get there, but you may take a little *bounce* for your own comfort.

[1] Sir Charles Vaughan did induce the Captain of the *Phaeton* frigate, in which he sailed for America, to put in at Madeira, where according to his journal of the voyage, "having laid in 2 pipes of Madeira wine & a small cask of Malmsey & the wind being fair on June 30th Thursday, we reimbarked." The wine cost him £106, and he gave $180 in tips on leaving the *Phaeton*.

12. I had at first great difficulty about drink for my English servants — but it ended in my having a strong half ale half porter stuff brewed at Washington (I did the same. S. C.) which they drank like dragons & was an article of heavy expense, but (as you will find at every turn) they must be kept comfortable and in good humour upon almost any terms. (Quite true, S. C.) You had better have a word with Calder upon this subject.

13. I intended to have taken out a confiturier, but I was afterwards very glad that I did not. My cook who is still at Washington did everything in that department which was wanted for the dinner table, as, no doubt your cook will be able to do, and there is nothing else required beyond what your housekeeper (for housekeeper you must have) can do. (I had none, but missed her. S. C.) If she can make ices (My cook did this, S. C.) it will be a convenience to you but if she cannot, there are plenty of people in Washington who can.

14. I had no ornamental furniture and the French Minister swaggered over me in that respect, but it is not necessary and the utmost that I would do, would be to send a couple of French clocks and perhaps a couple of sets of chimney piece ornaments. If upon seeing your house you find a place which cries out for a large looking glass you may always have one sent from France, but I certainly would not send out anything of the kind in the first instance.

15. To the best of my recollection the American mantlepieces are invariably very shallow and will not admit of large lights. — The ceilings of the two great rooms in Onis's house are so low that I do not think that they would admit of lustres from the ceilings (Yes they do, S. C.) & it will be a very difficult job to light them well. I believe your best mode of lighting it would be by patent lamps put upon tripods or things of this shape and it would perhaps answer to you to have a dozen such things made in England gilt and smart and with patent lamps to place upon them. They would always come into play in different parts of the house.

16. It is nearly impossible to answer this question. — Unless you have exact measurements of particular rooms it is not practicable to furnish all or any of them from hence. (The measurements of the house I occupied are marked on the plan. S. C.) There are in Onis's house on the ground floor, a smallish room to the street, in which he dined small companies, a billiard room (take out a billiard table) (I did not, S. C.) and the large dining room. Up stairs there are three corresponding rooms, in the two smaller of which he usually received, & only opened the large drawing room which is over the dining room on great occa-

sions. You can find place and use for plenty of easy chairs both leather and covered with linens, for couches, card tables, work tables, tea tables, fire screens, &c. They will be of use in whatever house you may get as (which answers your question 17) A Washington house is pretty much in its plan like a London House excepting that the offices are never under the house.

18. I should recommend you to have your best furniture, your tables for instance, of mahogany, and of rose or other woods, but the lighter chairs & lighter furniture may be stained black (not painted) & made smart with brass. They will last your time and be always disposable provided they are a little fantastic in their shape & you swear that they are de la dernière mode.

19. Yes everything of that kind is as we have it in England. You will see occasionally French silks used in American houses for the furniture, and I believe that it may be imported from France nearly as cheap as our fine printed furniture cottons, and it is so much handsomer that it may be worth while to send *from France* silk enough to make curtains for eight windows. I do not think it would be necessary to have chair and couch covers to match, as our printed cottons suit with anything; nor can you have them safely sent out readymade, but if they are made in the present manner viz: without any drapery but to run with large brass rings upon a large brass rod, you will find plenty of people at Washington who under your directions could cut them out & put them up, but you should have the rods, rings, & *gimp* fringe sent out with them.

20. You will do well to have whatever you can, made up in England, but unless you have the measures of your windows & your floors you cannot venture to have your curtains or carpets made. You will however recollect that in Summer you can dispense both with curtains and carpets, that you will not have occasion nor be expected to open your house next summer & that you will have full time to send to Europe for these things made to measure & order.

21. O Yes, an American carpenter can make you a sufficiently good set of book shelves either in mahogany or painted deal. The only danger is that they will use green wood unless you take great care. A propos. You will find it very convenient to take out half a dozen or perhaps more, Brahma locks to put to furniture in your own rooms.

22. I would recommend you to take out blankets, coverlids, & sheeting for all your beds, because you can get them better here and cheaper & you will perhaps be more comfortable if you take out the bedding (mattresses, feather bed & pillows) of your *own* bed, but you can get

bedding for the other beds which will do very well, and they are very bulky things to take from hence. You may also like to send out your own bedstead (and indeed you had perhaps better do so) but you need not do more. I took out a great quantity of mosquito netting, but I never had occasion to use mosquito curtains. You may as well take out a piece or two, to make blinds with, which you may put against the windows when they are open in Summer evenings and you have a light in the room. They serve to keep out the myriads of bats, beetles, and devils, which then assail you.

23. Do not be persuaded to paper any of your *bed*rooms. It is quite necessary for health, cleanliness, and coolness that they should be plain *white washed* walls. Your other rooms will be papered and you will produce a great effect by taking out some pretty, and new English papers. You can get French papers in America but there is no variety in them & they are very dear.

Addenda Quodam.

I think you will find comfort in a gig, and let it be such a one as will carry your servant and your clothes for a night or two. You should take a coachman, and all saddlery, harness, and whatever belongs to a stable except the mere mops, buckets, and lanterns, and horse medicines which you can get (tho' not good) in America. Give your cook a hint to take out a stock of mustards, pickles, fish sauces *Macaroni vermicelli* & generally whatever else of that kind he would require from the oilman. I think you should also take a small stock of good common medicines such as calomel, James's powder, &c, &c, &c, and above all things take out some Huxham's tincture of bark as well as gross bark. If you can get a clean, ugly and monarchical housemaid, and also a kitchen maid, you will find them of infinite value to you. Your great difficulty will be to keep your servants, but you must have some English ones such for example as the coachman, groom, under butler, and one footman and they had better be all English if you think you can preserve them. I took out a Maitre d'hotel, a French cook, and an under do. a Valet, three footmen, coachman, groom, two housemaids (the ugliest I could find) and at Washington I hired two or three black servants to assist. I allowed them additional wages during the time they were abroad and found that by making some sacrifices of expense for their comfort they were induced to behave well. The chapter of servants is a very important one in America.

Stratford Canning took two secretaries, eleven servants, including a French cook, and seventy tons measurement of baggage, including

a cabriolet, to America. It took four days to load his baggage on the vessel. In 1821 he writes his sister, "My servants have behaved uniformly well, and the accomplishment of chewing tobacco has not yet been fatal to my carpets." [1]

[1] Stanley Lane-Poole, Stratford Canning, i, 296–322.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1926

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, November 22, 1926, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death, on June 22, 1926, of AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, a Resident Member; on July 16, 1926, of HENRY GODDARD PICKERING, a Resident Member; on August 10, 1926, of FRANK WARREN HACKETT, a Corresponding Member; and, on September 29, 1926, of WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER, a Corresponding Member.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. ALLEN FRENCH and Mr. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, accepting Resident Membership; and from Mr. MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN, and Mr. ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN accepting Corresponding Membership.

The PRESIDENT reported from the Council a recommendation that amendments to the By-Laws be adopted for the purpose of creating a new class of Associate Members to whom the requirements as to ancestry will not apply. It was voted unanimously to adopt the proposed amendments, thus changing certain sections of the By-Laws to read as follows:

CHAPTER II

MEMBERS AND DUES

ART. 1. — The number of Resident Members of the Society never shall exceed One Hundred. They shall be elected from among the citizens of Massachusetts, and shall cease to be members whenever they cease to be residents thereof. The number of Corresponding Members never shall exceed Fifty; and the number of Honorary Members never shall exceed Twenty. They shall be elected from among non-residents of Massachusetts, and shall cease to be members if at any time they become both citizens and permanent residents thereof. The number of Associate Members shall not exceed ten. They may be elected from residents or non-residents of Massachusetts.

No person shall be eligible to Resident, Corresponding, or Honorary Membership who cannot prove, by documentary evidence satisfactory to the Council, his lineal descent from an ancestor who was a resident of the Colonies of Plymouth or the Massachusetts Bay.

Resident Members only shall be eligible to office; only Resident Members and Associate Members resident in Massachusetts shall be entitled to vote or to take part in the business of the Society.

ART 2. — A book shall be kept by the Recording Secretary, in which any member may enter the name of any person whom he may regard as suitable to be nominated as a Resident, Corresponding, Associate, or Honorary Member, — it being understood that each member is bound in honor not to make known abroad the name of any person proposed or nominated; but no nomination shall be made except by a report of the Council at a Stated Meeting of the Society. No nomination shall be acted upon at the same meeting to which it is reported; nor shall more than one candidate for Honorary Membership be reported at any meeting.

ART 5. — Each Resident Member and each Associate Member resident in Massachusetts shall pay Ten Dollars at the time of his admission, and Ten Dollars each Twenty-first of November afterward, into the treasury for the general purposes of the Society; but any member shall be exempt from the annual payment if, at any time after his admission, he shall pay into the treasury One Hundred Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and all Commutations

shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

ART. 6. — If any person elected a Resident Member shall neglect, for one month after being notified of his election, to accept his membership in writing and to pay his Admission Fee, his election shall be void; and if any Resident Member shall neglect to pay his Annual Assessment for six months after it shall have become due, and his attention shall have been called to this article of the By-Laws, he shall cease to be a member; but it shall be competent for the Council to suspend the provisions of this Article for a reasonable time. The provisions of this article apply also to Associate Members resident in Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XI

THE COUNCIL

ART. 4. — It shall report, at its discretion, nominations for Resident, Corresponding, Associate, and Honorary Members, and act upon all resignations and forfeitures of membership.

The Annual Report of the Council, written by the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, was read:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The past year has been marked by no interruption of the comfortable routine of the Society's life. Regular meetings have been held in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to whom our acknowledgments for their continued hospitality are again gratefully made. Steady and worth-while work has been done, not alone in the preparation and presentation of communications, but in the extension of our list of publications.

The Editor reports that three volumes are going through the press. Volumes XV and XVI, which are Collections, containing the Harvard College Records, on which a vast amount of patient labor has been expended by our associate Mr. Albert Matthews, may be expected to appear shortly. Volume XXVI, of Transactions, is nearly complete and should appear before many months.

The membership of the Society has undergone a few changes. The Resident membership of Mr. Alfred Lawrence Aiken was auto-

matically terminated by his removal from the Commonwealth. The following gentlemen have been elected to Resident membership:

Charles Knowles Bolton,
Arthur Howland Buffinton,
Charles Eliot Goodspeed,
Allen French,
Albert Bushnell Hart;

and to Corresponding membership:

Charles Evans,
Henry Crocker Kittredge,
Alfred Lawrence Aiken,
Marcus Wilson Jernegan.

Death has claimed five of our number:

Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin. His entire life was devoted to the service of four great libraries: The Boston Public Library, Boston Athenaeum, Lenox Library, and the Library of Congress, of which he was successively Chief Bibliographer and Chief Assistant Librarian. He was pre-eminent as a bibliographer, and especially distinguished for his wide knowledge of manuscript and other source material in the field of American history. His information was freely placed at the disposal of his associates, and of interested students. For more than thirty years a member of this Society he was a frequent and valued contributor to its Publications.

Augustus George Bullock. One of the leading citizens of the Commonwealth, and one who devoted his life to the service of the Commonwealth in those deeper and less spectacular ways which ever characterize true service. A man of large affairs and varied interests, whose sound business judgment and practical wisdom were balanced by a natural sensitiveness to the appeal of beauty and culture and the finer sentiments of the heart.

Henry Goddard Pickering. He was more interested in life as a whole than in any part of life; a man of balanced sympathies, whose sense of proportion never lost sight of the end in preoccupation over the means. He was conspicuous for the integrity of his nature, his love of life, his many and tenacious friendships.

Frank Warren Hackett. He retained throughout his eighty-five years the irrepressible spirit of youth. Trained to the law, the humdrum occasions of that calling could not satisfy the strain of the dare-

devil in his blood, and he gravitated naturally to a position which not only exercised his abilities but also gratified his love of romance. As Paymaster in the Navy during the Civil War, and as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley, he found congenial fields of service, which he filled with conspicuous profit to his country and genuine happiness to himself.

William Jewett Tucker. Ex-President of Dartmouth College, whose nature may be summed up in the two words, simplicity and sincerity. He was both literally and figuratively the builder of the present Dartmouth; a man of original and forceful personality, constructive, fair minded, singularly free from pettiness and prejudice, beloved and respected alike by alumnus, faculty, and the humblest undergraduate; an earnest, straight-forward, spiritually minded leader, who dreamed great dreams and lived to see many of them realized.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 16, 1926.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, November 16, 1925, Principal cash		$2,661.60	
Income cash		4,954.19	$7,615.79
Receipts of Principal:			
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings account	$90.34		
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account	1.26		
Horace Everett Ware Fund:			
Balance of residue of estate	$4.78		
Income added to Principal	240.23	245.01	
Subscriptions to Editor's Salary Fund		400.00	
Commutation from one member		100.00	
Contributions		5.00	
Admission Fees		40.00	
United Electric Securities Corporation $1,000 5% Bond, due August, 1939, exchanged at $1,030		1,030.00	

Deficit in Editor's Salary Fund, made up from Income	$550.00		
Total receipts of Principal		$2,461.61	
Receipts of Income:			
Interest	$7,556.44		
Annual Assessments	630.00		
Sales of the Society's Publications	152.90		
Principal items transferred	45.00		
Total receipts of Income		8,384.34	$10,845.95
Total			$18,461.74

DISBURSEMENTS

Disbursements of Principal:			
$2,500 United States Cold Storage Company, First Mortgage 6's, due 1945–1946	$2,500.00		
1,000 United Electric Securities Corporation, 42nd Series 5's, due April, 1956, exchanged for one Bond of 30th Series 5's, due August, 1939	970.00		
Editor's Salary paid and charged to Salary Fund	1,000.00		
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings account, added to Principal	90.34		
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings account, added to Principal	1.26		
Principal items transferred to Income	45.00		
Total disbursements of Principal		$4,606.60	
Disbursements of Income:			
University Press	$941.62		
A. W. Elson & Company	447.47		
Folsom Engraving Company	4.75		
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	19.50		
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	20.00		
Stewart, Watts & Bollong, accounting services	250.00		
American Academy of Arts & Sciences, fuel, lights, and janitor service	20.00		
St. Botolph Club, room for three Council Meetings	15.00		
State Street Trust Company, interest on Loan	13.00		
Interest accrued on bonds purchased	30.42		
Annual dinner	383.75		
Clerk hire	100.00		
Thomas S. Longridge, insurance	152.53		
Mary H. Rollins, Index to Volume 15	11.50		
Bibliography of American Historical Writings:			
Fred N. Robinson	50.00		

J. Franklin Jameson	$50.00		
Editor, postage	50.00		
Conveyancers Title Insurance Company, envelopes	15.94		
Miscellaneous	37.95		
Interest on Horace E. Ware Fund, added to Principal	240.23		
Payment of loan to State Street Trust Company	4,000.00		
Deficit in Editor's Salary Fund, charged to Income	550.00	$7,403.66	$12,010.26
Balance, November 16, 1926, Principal cash		$516.61	
Income cash		5,934.87	6,451.48
Total			$18,461.74

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$20,300.00 in first mortgages payable in gold coin on improved property in Greater Boston
105,062.50 in bonds elsewhere described in this report having a face value of $115,000
30.69 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
2,076.22 on deposit in the Warren Institution for Savings
$127,469.41 Total

The Investments of the Society yield an average annual income of approximately 6% on book value.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of November 16, 1926, is hereto annexed and made a part of this report.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT
Treasurer

BOSTON, November 16, 1926

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash, Principal	$516.61	
Income	5,934.87	$6,451.48
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund		3,289.63
Provident Institution for Savings		30.69
Warren Institution for Savings		2,076.22
Mortgages		20,300.00
Bonds:		
$5,000 Cedars Rapids Mfg. & Power Co., 1st Mtge. S. F. Gold 5's, due 1953	$4,450.00	
5,000 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, Mortgage and Collateral Trust Ref. Gold 5's, due 1940	3,762.50	

5,000	Cleveland Union Terminal Co., 1st Mtge. S. F. Gold 5½'s, Series A, due 1972 . . .	$4,980.00	
5,000	Detroit Edison Company, 1st and Ref. Mtge. Gold 5's, Series A, due 1940	4,397.50	
5,000	Detroit Edison Company, 1st Mtge. Ref. 6's, Series B, due 1940	4,400.00	
4,500	England, Walton & Company, Inc., 1st Mtge. S. F. Gold 6's, due 1942	4,432.50	
2,000	Kingdom of Belgium, 1st 6's S. F. Extension Loan, due 1955	1,750.00	
5,000	Minneapolis, St. Paul & S. Ste. Marie Ry. Co., 1st Mtge. Ref. 6's, Series A, due 1946 .	5,000.00	
5,000	New England Tel. & Tel. Co., 1st Mtge. Gold 5's, Series A, due 1952	4,875.00	
12,000	New River Company, 1st Mtge. and Coll. Trust 5's, due 1934	11,130.00	
5,000	New York Edison Company, 1st Lien and Ref. Mtge. Gold 6½'s, Series A, due 1941	5,000.00	
5,000	Oregon-Wash. R. R. & Navigation Co., 1st and Ref. Mtge. 4's, Series A, due 1961 .	4,105.00	
5,000	Pennsylvania Railroad, Equipment Trust of 1920 6's, due 1935	5,000.00	
5,000	Philadelphia Company, 1st Ref. & Coll. Trust Mortgage 6's, Series A, due 1944	4,350.00	
5,000	Union Pacific Railroad, Series A, Equipment Trust 7's, due 1932	5,000.00	
4,000	United Electric Securities Corp., Coll. Trust S. F. 5's, 30th Series, due 1935–1942 . .	3,000.00	
1,000	United Electric Securities Corp., Coll. Trust S. F. 5's, 42nd Series, due 1956	970.00	
6,500	United States Cold Storage Co., 1st Mtge. Real Estate, Chicago, Ill., Gold 6's, due 1945–1946	6,500.00	
20,000	Western Tel. & Tel. Co., Coll. Trust Gold 5's, due 1932	16,960.00	
5,000	Wickwire-Spencer Steel Co., 1st Mtge. S. F. Prior Lien Coll. & Ref. Gold 7's, due 1935	5,000.00	$105,062.50
$115,000	Total		$137,210.52

CREDITS

Income		$5,934.87
Funds:		
Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00	

General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal. Income only to be used for Current Expenses . . .	$26,660.94	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. The income only to be used	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restrictions as to use	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications .	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, established in 1916 by a gift of $500 from him. Increased under his will by sundry installments of cash since 1919. To be accumulated and used for Massachusetts Bay Colony monument or other memorial	4,248.86	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for publications .	30,000.00	
Henry Herbert Edes Bequest, established in 1923 under his will. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $3,000, when it shall be called the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	2,076.22	
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund, established in 1923 by subscriptions	3,289.63	
Frederick Lewis Gay Memorial Fund, established in 1925 by a gift from his widow. Permanent name and purpose of fund to be decided upon later	2,000.00	$131,275.65
Total		$137,210.52

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending November 16, 1926, have attended to their duty, and report that they have employed Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have found the accounts of the Treasurer correctly kept and properly vouched.

On November 17, 1926, they personally examined the securities belonging to said Society, which are all accounted for, and also confirmed the balance of cash on hand as of November 16, 1926.

NATHANIEL T. KIDDER
GEORGE P. ANDERSON
Auditing Committee

BOSTON, November 19, 1926.

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the following list was presented; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
JAMES HARDY ROPES

RECORDING SECRETARY
ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

REGISTRAR
ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Messrs. Lawrence Fraser Abbott, Philip Andrews, Charles Francis Dorr Belden,

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, Harold Hitchings Burbank, Joseph Payson Clark, Louis Aleck Craig, John Henry Edmonds, Barend Faddegon, Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford, Charles Burton Gulick, James Morgan, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, and Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster. President MORISON presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1926

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 16, 1927, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT reported the resignation of the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK as Corresponding Secretary, and announced that the Council had elected PERCIVAL MERRITT as Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

Mr. CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD of Paris, France, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ALLEN FRENCH spoke on "Orderly Books of the British Occupation of Boston, 1774–1776." He discussed the orderly books now known, and pointed out that they, taken as a whole, show as nothing else does the routine military life of the garrison during the siege. They give a picture in minute detail of the daily life of the soldier. Especially valuable are the two orderly books of the Marines.

MR. ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG communicated a Memoir of MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON, which Mr. Rugg had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions of the Society.

MEMOIR

OF

HON. MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON, LL.D.

BY

ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG

Marcus Perrin Knowlton was chosen vice-president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in November, 1902, having been elected to membership in the previous December, and continued to hold that office until his death on May 7, 1918. He was deeply interested in the work of this society. It was congenial to his tastes. He attended its meetings whenever his official duties permitted, and occasionally he contributed by his speech to the excellence of its program. He was born in Wilbraham on February 3, 1839, the son of Merrick and Fatima (Perrin) Knowlton. He prepared for college at Monson Academy and graduated at Yale in the class of 1860. He was admitted to the bar in Hampden County on September 24, 1862, and thereafter resided in Springfield. For many years he was a partner in the practice of law with George M. Stearns, in his day a leading and famous advocate. His practice was of the most general nature. He was a wise counselor. He was endowed with a mind of unusual strength. He was studious and faithful, and achieved a high reputation as a lawyer. His integrity and ability won the confidence of the community in which he lived. He was a president of the Common Council of Springfield in 1872 and 1873. He was representative in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1878, and a member of the Senate in 1880 and 1881. In 1881, at the age of forty-two, he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court by Governor Long. He was singularly fitted to perform the duties of that position. He held counsel strictly to their appropriate functions. No time was wasted. He was prompt and steadfast in his rulings. Trials moved

forward without haste but without delay. He was lucid in instructions to juries. Calm, dignified, courteous, firm, his work as a trial judge was exceptionally well done. In 1887 he was appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court and succeeded Oliver Wendell Holmes as Chief Justice in 1902. He retired in 1911 at the age of seventy-three, by reason of an affection of the eyes, which fortunately turned out to be temporary. In the remaining years he responded to a call of duty from the federal court to become chairman of the board of trustees charged with the onerous duty of reorganization of the Boston and Maine Railroad. He was twice married; first, to Sophia Ritchie in 1867, and, after her death in 1886, to Rose M. Ladd of Portland, Maine, in 1891. He died in his eightieth year, survived by his widow, a son, and a daughter.

It was his good fortune to be the son of a farmer and to receive thereby the training in self-reliance, resourcefulness, hard work, and love of nature commonly accompanying such upbringing. He had the acquaintance with common things, sympathy with plain people, regularity of habits, humility of spirit, strength of body, and the virility of mind and soul, which spring from life in the country.

His taste for studies in history and literature was keen. It was manifested in college and continued throughout his later years. The absorbing interest of his life, however, was judicial work, to which he devoted thirty years of his life. For twenty-four years he was a member of the highest court of the Commonwealth and for nine years its chief justice. The length of this service was exceptional. It has been exceeded in our history under the Constitution by only five. His work was of rare distinction. The mere number of opinions written by him expressive of the judgment of the court is impressive in statement. The total is fifteen hundred and seventy. The average is slightly in excess of sixty-five for each year of his service; but in one twelve months there were one hundred and six opinions from his pen. Manifestly he was a man of energy, capable of sustained endeavor. His decisions touch every branch of law within the jurisdiction of the court. The quality of his judicial utterances is of the first order of excellence. His knowledge of the various branches of the law was thorough. He had great learning. His grasp of legal principles was comprehensive and sure. His mind quickly penetrated through complicated and diverting facts to the

main point. In powers of logical reasoning he had few equals. His vision of the field of growth for the law was wide and clear. He realized that practical jurisprudence within established limitations must develop and adapt itself as administered by the courts to new discoveries and to the increase of general intelligence among the body of the people, and that it is capable of expansion to meet the changing conditions of the progress of civilization. His insight into the reach and ultimate effect of legal principles was extraordinary. Of rare intellectual acumen, of strong and masterful temperament, richly endowed in mental power, familiar with the affairs of the market place, he was nevertheless receptive to suggestion and of kindly disposition. His search for the truth was unwearied. He was zealous for the public welfare. His thought was unclouded. His mind came to rest in his final conclusions and he was strong in his convictions. His judicial style was simple, direct, incisive. It was a close approach to perfection. His sentences were short. He used plain words of well-understood meaning. His statement of legal principles was clear and concise, comprehensive and adequate, and so lucid as not to be susceptible of misconception. His opinions carry the conviction of finality to the reader, whether he be learned student, practising lawyer, or plain citizen. In reading what he has written one thinks only of the ideas expressed and never of the medium through which they are conveyed. His personal traits have been admirably characterized by another: "Judged by the highest standards, Judge Knowlton was a great man. For what constitutes a great man? Not wealth or power or fame, — these are largely the accidents of birth or station; but character and service and worth. To give the world an example of absolute honesty, to give one's self to the service of the world with untiring industry and devotion, to preserve in the midst of the world one's native modesty and humility, and to recognize, among the seen and the temporal, one's obligations to the unseen and the eternal, is to achieve a degree of greatness which the world has never failed to recognize and which was splendidly exemplified by Judge Marcus P. Knowlton." He had in generous measure all the underlying judicial virtues, unimpeachable integrity, a sensitive conscience, absolute impartiality, patience, courtesy, poise, courage, wisdom. From whatever aspect his work is viewed, he is one of the few foremost of our best judges. His

contributions to the jurisprudence of the commonwealth and of the country will not perish so long as our system of law shall continue to control the actions of our people. There is poverty in language when attempt is made to portray such a magistrate. The Chief Justice was much more than our words declare. Fortunate is Massachusetts to have been enriched by such a life.

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